

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 277 511

RC 016 039

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TITLE The Bi-National Migrant Child. A Research Project.
INSTITUTION San Diego County Dept. of Education, Calif.
SPONS AGENCY California State Dept. of Education, Sacramento.
PUB DATE Sep 86
NOTE 161p.; A Product of Migrant Education, Region IX.
Photographs may not reproduce clearly.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

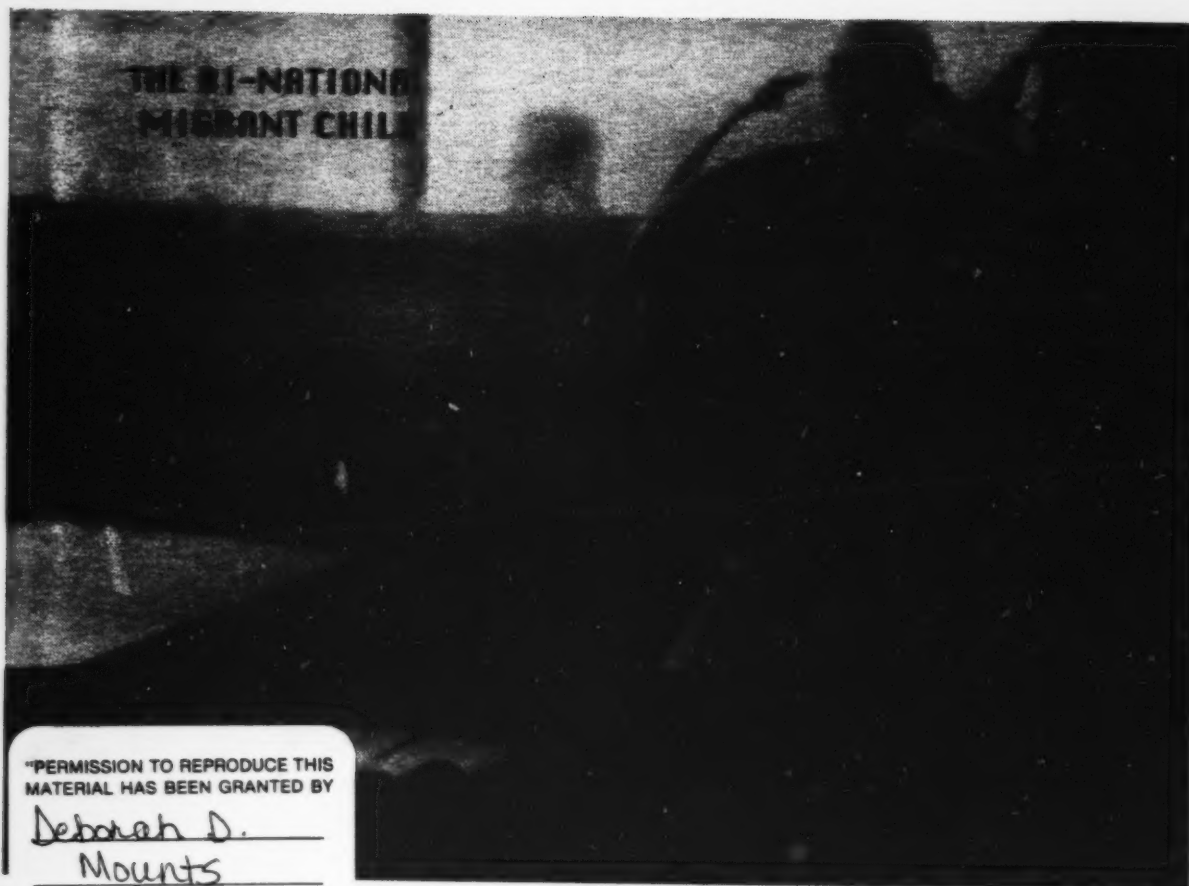
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Access to Education; Classroom Environment;
Comparative Analysis; Educational Discrimination;
Educational History; *Educational Practices;
Elementary Secondary Education; *Equal Education;
Ethnography; Foreign Students; Mathematics Education;
*Mexicans; Migrant Children; *Migrant Education;
Migrant Problems; Parent Participation; Parent School
Relationship; Reading Instruction; Student
Characteristics; Student Mobility; Teacher
Attitudes
IDENTIFIERS *California (French Camp); Cultural Values;
*Mexico

ABSTRACT

Using ethnographic research design, this study documents educational/social consequences of international migration on children of migrant farmworkers traveling between home bases in Villa Mendoza and Acuitzeramo, Mexico, and French Camp, California. The study reviews conditions faced in school (racial isolation, language minority status, different cognitive style, inadequate assessment, non-caring attitudes) and society (belief that success is the individual's responsibility and minorities are subordinate). It presents an historical overview of the Mexican educational system and considers factors influencing educational effectiveness (church, social stratification, political economy, presidents and their priorities). Chapters describe Mexican and American states and towns where children move to and from; analyze similarities/differences in the educational systems (bureaucracy, calendars, schedules, objectives, leadership roles); discuss difficulties encountered by parents in dealing with the binational educational maze; and discuss teacher attitude as it affects quality of parental involvement and classroom practices. Other chapters examine records of migrant students showing how teacher attitude becomes "cemented" in report cards to such an extent that they become more a forum for reflection of teacher values than of student performance/achievement; compare math and reading curricula in the two countries; provide portraits of three migrant families; and outline findings and recommendations for policy makers and teachers. (NEC)

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And our differences do not end there. The North Americans are credulous and we are believers; they love fairy tales and detective stories and we love myths and legends. The Mexican tells lies because he delights in fantasy, or because he is desperate, or because he wants to rise above the sordid facts of his life; the North American does not tell lies, but he substitutes social truth for the real truth, which is always disagreeable. We get drunk in order to confess; they get drunk in order to forget. They are optimists and we are nihilists - except that our nihilism is not intellectual but instinctive, and therefore irrefutable. we are suspicious and they are trusting. We are sorrowful and sarcastic and they are happy and full of jokes. North Americans want to understand and we want to contemplate. They are activists and we are quietists; we enjoy our wounds and they enjoy their inventions. They believe in hygiene, health, work and contentment, but perhaps they have never experienced true joy, which is an intoxication, a whirlwind. In the hubbub of a fiesta night our voices explode into brilliant lights, and life and death mingle together, while their vitality becomes a fixed smile that denies old age and death but that changes life to motionless stone.

octavio paz

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Acknowledgements

This study resulted from the interest, dedication and help of many people, both in the United States and in Mexico.

Concern for the dilemma of the international migrant child originally surfaced in the late 1970's in the Pajaro Valley area of California, when Arlene Dorn, a classroom teacher, became aware of the special problems experienced by children who traveled yearly between her district and Gomez Farías, Michoacán. Maria Espinosa, as a California Mini-Corp student, lived for six months in Gomez Farias and wrote warmly and sensitively about the plight of the "children who live in two worlds in one year." Her observations still pertain. The early efforts to help centered around the effective bi-national transmittal of school records and how to enroll children in Mexican schools after the start of the year. Ms. Dorn's efforts were supported by funds from Migrant Education and the Hewlett Packard Foundation.

The problem grew and the concern increased. Bi-national communication between school officials began, largely through the tireless efforts of Adriana Simmons of La Cooperativa/Campesina. Meanwhile, through discussions with Professor Cirenio Rodriguez at California State University, Sacramento, it became increasingly evident that both the bi-national talks and emerging policy decisions were taking place in somewhat of a vacuum. Up to that time (1983-84) there was a dearth of published research on the social and educational plight of international migrant children. It was evident that a need existed for basic, academic research upon which to base policy discussions and decisions. With the encouragement and support of Dr. Rodriguez, I wrote a proposal to the State Department of Education, Migrant Education Section, for the funding of this research project.

And so begins the long list of people who have helped to make this research project successful. My heartfelt thanks go to:

- (a) Deborah Hananel, Cirenio Rodriguez and Alma Parra-Diaz, my fellow researchers in Mexico;
- (b) Jack Schaffer, California State Department of Education, Don Kelly, California State Department of Education, and Sonia Morales, San Diego County Office of Education, for their trust in me and continued support throughout the duration of the project;
- (c) Jim Stone, who guided the research, and Charles Benson, Sylvia Guendelman, Paul Heist, and John Ogbu, who made valuable suggestions to the drafts of the report—all of whom are University of California, Berkeley, faculty;

- (d) Robert Miller, Los Gatos, and Sandy Bredt, Oakland, for their contributions to Chapter 9;
- (e) Region III, Migrant Education, for facilitating data collection;
- (f) the many teachers, principals and officials, in both countries, who gave of their time to be interviewed; and
- (g) the families upon whom this is based.

Every researcher needs the sympathetic ears, eyes and heart of someone close who will help one to get over the rough spots: I was fortunate to have two such people—my love goes to Deb Hananel and Jesús Melgoza.

It is my hope that this research project will not only contribute to the body of knowledge regarding the international migrant child but will also serve as a catalyst for policy makers to take a long, hard look at how the educational system must change to allow the effective participation of international migrant children as they continue their journey between two worlds.

Deborah Davis Mounts

September, 1986

Chapter 1

The Study

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to document the educational and social consequences of international migration on the children of migrant farm workers traveling between Mexico and the United States.

Every country believes that its future relies on the effective education and socialization of each new generation of children. These children represent hope, growth, and productivity for both emerging and established nations. Nations whose population remains settled within the country's boundaries can depend on their own educational institutions to develop children in a manner congruent with the particular traditions upheld in the country. Many countries, however, face the phenomenon of binational migration; a situation characterized by citizens of one country traveling to another for a period of employment, then returning home. Binational migration impacts the countries and the families involved on many levels, and has far reaching consequences. Parents endure the low pay, long hours and social discrimination inherent in temporary seasonal work. Meanwhile, their children struggle with adapting to an unfamiliar educational environment where classes are conducted in a language with which they have limited proficiency. Students often experience failure which continues to haunt them until most international migrant children drop out of school, both in Mexico and the U.S., before graduation.

Such high failure/drop-out rates clearly indicate that schools are not meeting the needs of these students. In order to serve the international migrant student, schools must have a knowledge of the unique characteristics of this particular group of students. In the effort to understand the lives of these children, it is necessary to look back at the cause and consequences of migration, to investigate the social reality of families in both the host and home countries and to describe the similarities and differences in the two educational systems. It is through the interaction of these factors that the lives of the children are formed. Unfortunately, these factors, while remaining both misunderstood and ignored, have nonetheless inhibited the academic and social development of international migrant children, and thus tarnished the bright potential that these children represent for their country. By understanding the characteristics of the international migrant child, policy recommendations can serve as an effective vehicle for positive changes and increase the quality and quantity of the

educational and social experiences of these children.

Hypothesis

The major assumption of this study was that the systems encountered by the international migrant child, both social and educational, in Mexico and the U.S., fail to accommodate their special needs, and thereby contribute to these students' scholastic failure and cultural disenfranchisement.

Questions investigated included:

- 1) What are the unique educational and social characteristics of the International Migrant Child?
- 2) What is the typical pattern of movement of the international migrant child?
- 3) How does this migration pattern affect the children's schooling?
- 4) What are the instructional methodologies used in Mexican schools?
- 5) How do these methodologies blend or clash with that used in American schools?
- 6) What is the curriculum scope and sequence of the Mexican Primary Educational system and how does it blend or clash with that used in American schools?
- 7) What are both the parent and teacher training needs which would facilitate the international migrant child's success in both cultures?

The answers to these questions were obtained from interviews with students, parents, teachers, administrators and officials in Mexico and the U.S. In addition, classroom observations with audio/video recordings as well as Mexican and American school records were used and analyzed.

Design

An ethnographic research design was considered the approach most congruent with the purpose of this research project- -a descriptive investigation and analysis of the educational and social consequences of repeated migration.

Sample

A criterion based sampling technique was utilized to select the sites. French Camp, near Stockton, California, was selected as the U.S. receiving site for the following reasons: 1) families live in a Federal Agricultural Labor Housing Project 2) the majority of the families are

international migrants who travel to Stockton from central Michoacán, Mexico

After the selection of French Camp as the U.S. receiving town, a general meeting was held to determine which families would be returning to their home-base in Mexico and who would be interested in participating in this study. With all the families volunteering to be participants, the final site selections in Mexico were Villa Mendoza and Acuitzeramo because 1) they represent towns where the majority of the population migrates; 2) they are representative of the small (1,000-2,000 pop.) rural towns characteristic of Mexican sending towns and; 3) an adequate number of families were available for interviews.

Data Collection

The strategies used in qualitative research for gathering data are often ones that are interactive in nature. This project utilized a variety of data collection strategies to understand the meaning of international migration to those involved. These strategies included structured and non-structured interviews and participant observations. Additional information was collected through student surveys, archival and demographic data, and video and audio recorders. Rigor was upheld through triangulation (i.e. multi-source) of data-collection and through investigator triangulation (i.e. multi-person).

Instruments

Three instruments were used to collect data in response to the seven questions in the study.

Teacher questionnaire: this was a series of 29 questions designed to identify each teacher's level of training (i.e. in general and in respect to migrant needs), to understand the educational environment (i.e. the number of students in each class, problems relating to international migrant children), and social milieu (i.e. reasons for immigrating, social effects on students, advantages and disadvantages of this lifestyle on the international migrant children), and to describe the extent of interaction between teachers and parents. The questionnaire were administered individually to each teacher, with each interview lasting approximately one-half to one hour. Many of the interviews were either audio or video recorded.

Observation guide: this form was used as a guideline for classroom observation. The observer was encouraged to observe and record data on classroom organization, methodology, physical facilities, student-student and student-teacher interaction, and

student/teacher characteristics.

Portraits: three families representative of the target population participated in extensive guided interviews which brought to light various patterns of migration, a typical day, family history of migration, work/rest patterns, demographics etc.

Chapter 2

Key Background Factors

The young child is playing on the floor of the one large room which serves as home to five members of his family. Suddenly she/he hears her/his mother shout from somewhere outside. Moments later she/he is picked up roughly and quickly carried out back, to be hidden, in a dark shed. When they return, a neighbor is crying, moaning that her husband is gone.

Thus begins the sense of isolation, fear, wariness, and shame that often haunts the children of migrant farm workers in California. These are children who have no choice in the pattern of their lives, lives that are lived (or endured) in following the flow of the planting and harvesting schedule of the largest industry in California—agriculture. Whenever possible, society has historically chosen to ignore these families allowing the children to grow up in abysmal living conditions, experiencing poor health from lack of proper nutrition and sanitation, and failing in school because of problems relating to health, language, mobility and discrimination.

The above situation leads to numerous questions: What are the ingredients that interact to form the reality of a migrant lifestyle? What are the political, demographic, social and cultural implications of migration? How are migrant workers and their families managing the social and cultural aspects of their everyday realities in the country of employment, and what are the particular problems of adaptation of their having to live in two cultures? How are children affected by all of this?

In any effort to understand the educational failure of migrant students, it is necessary to search for answers to the preceding questions. The total situation is complex and answers are not simple. Some answers can be gleaned from examining current efforts to assist Hispanics in general, while others require analyzing factors unique to specific migrant populations. To add further complexity, research and ameliorative efforts have generally focused on those immigrants who move to a new country with the intention of establishing permanent residency. That is not the whole picture, however, for here in California, there are 130,000 migrant children who enroll yearly in the public school system and, of these, at least 20,000 leave by mid-year. It is these international migrant students, those who routinely travel with their families between Mexico and the U.S., those who constitute a sub-set of the larger, one-way stream of Mexican migration, who suffer the most severe educational and social adjustments.



This chapter seeks to better understand these issues by exploring several key factors including:

- the historical and current determinants of Mexican migration to California
- impact of "temporary" migration
- demographics and educational attainment of Hispanics
- educational factors affecting the achievement of migrant students
 - language proficiency
 - cultural differences
 - cross-cultural cognition patterns
 - assessment practices
 - struggle for identity and acceptance
 - patterns of social stratification within larger society
 - the evolution of the Migrant Education Program

Given such problems and concerns, an analysis will be made of the current educational efforts and strategies to improve the educational attainment of migrant students.

Why People Migrate

The determinants of migration play a large role in the eventual settlement patterns of migrants. These determinants have been considered from sociological, economic and geographical points of view, with each discipline developing its own theory of causality. Individual and macro factors influencing decisions to migrate include demographic factors such as age, sex, education, race and household size, geographic factors such as distance, social-psychological factors such as desires for more amenities, economic factors such as income and occupation, and attitudinal factors such as aspirations for improving one's economic status and income, and being close to friends and relatives. (Bilsborrow, 1976)

In the case of Mexico, early internal migration was often the result of historic structural processes. Land grants created large holdings in the hands of a few men. The result, therefore, was that few peasants owned land; they either rented it or worked as paid laborers, or both. Often they were forced to travel long distances to work as laborers. After the Revolution of 1910, and contrary to expectations, many areas remained in large land holdings, so that the people continued to work as "free peasants," employed temporarily during the sowing or harvesting season. There was a shift *from* the usual custom of paying field workers half in money and half in produce, as well as giving the worker a plot of land for his house, *to* the practice of paying for peasants' services only in the form of money. (Fonseca and Moreno, 1984) Since this change led to the breakdown of traditional village social and economic

relationships, many landless workers decided to migrate permanently to other rural areas or to cities. (Bilsborrow, 1976) Others remained at their home bases, becoming accustomed to the continued exploitation on the part of large landowners. These were the people most attracted by the offer, later on, of field work in the U.S.

In recent times, internal out-migration also has been the result of the creation of rural schools. The provision of education has stimulated the awareness of other opportunities, such as the migration of many rural youths to further their education or simply to escape a rural life. (Bilsborrow, 1976)

While internal Mexican migration often has been a response to structural processes and changes, external migration usually has been described in the context of the "push-pull" theory of migration. (Jackson, 1969) This concept is concerned with the economic, sociological and political factors that have influenced people to immigrate. These factors can have a "pulling" effect when socio-economic imbalances exist between countries. The receiving country may be seen as having better opportunities for employment, investment, higher wages and education, and would thus seem attractive to anyone considering immigrating to a new country. There also are negative factors such as those which serve to "push" people away from their home. These could be the violence of a civil war, famine, international disputes, or lack of economic opportunities.

The effects of a "push" situation are often thought to be more significant than those of a "pull." In California, in particular, these push-pull factors have been unique for each of the many different cultural groups settling here. In the case of the Mexican, the earliest "push" toward U.S. migration resulted from the Mexican Revolution (1910-1917), during which turmoil many peasants were freed from the land, thus allowing them to come north. Many others were forced to escape north to avoid the bloodshed and destruction of the revolution. (Gonzalez, 1980) The "pull" factor emanating later from the United States came from labor agents and contractors who exerted heavy recruitment tactics for agricultural cartels and, to a lesser extent, for certain industrial and manufacturing interests. There was a great need for a mobile, cheap, unskilled labor force before and after World War I. Both the agriculture and railroad industries preferred to recruit Mexican laborers for the simple economic fact that they would work longer hours for less money and because they seemed to endure the heat better than other immigrant classes and also were willing to spend long periods of time away from their families. (Gonzalez, 1980) One other fact common to these early immigrants was their intention to stay just long enough to earn sufficient money to return home and buy a piece of property and achieve some degree of independence. More recently, the cause of

Mexican immigration (both legal and illegal) has been explained on a multinational level, in which case large multi-national corporations have bought up huge parcels of land in Mexico (repeating an earlier scenario), again forcing peasants off their land and into the overcrowded cities. For many of these displaced people it has been necessary to continue north into the United States, searching for the kind of work they know best, while striving for survival. (Controlling Interest) This "push" force is one against which a Mexican peasant has little defense and one of which the general U.S. public has little knowledge. Also, on the one hand, the government accepts this stream of migrants entering the United States as necessary for maintaining a safety valve on the tenuous economic situation in Mexico, while, on the other hand, it rejects them as being "illegal aliens" who should be rounded up and sent home. This results in little governmental consistency or cooperation in meeting the needs of this particular migrant group.

While some people accept the hypothesis that factors associated with the push force would be more important than those of the pull, others place greater emphasis on the pulling tendency of the U.S. They discount any rhetoric about developing an international workforce, and instead they argue, that the reality is that the U.S. uses the Mexican laborer to avoid the real cost of production. The foreign worker, especially if undocumented, is paid less and exploited more than any U.S. national would be. The worker becomes a commodity to be imported or exported according to the economic stability of the U.S. This fragmentation and temporariness does not allow the workers to join forces with other workers to fight for their labor rights. (Fonseca and Moreno, 1984)

Trends in Mexican Migration to the United States

As the early migrants returned home with money in their pockets, new clothes, and new ways, more and more workers were attracted to the U.S. Networks, based on both kinship ties and community membership, were established. Migration to the U.S. had become an institutionalized way of life for many. Over the years, and especially since 1964, the flow of migrants has shifted in constituency from that of undocumented single men (or married men without families) working temporarily, first in industry, and then in agriculture, to that of documented family groups, which stay for longer periods of time. The emergent family groups have given rise to the need for special programs, housing, and other support services. Individual motives for migration at the present time are not now based purely on economy; family considerations, the increasing kinship ties within the U.S., family unification, the desire to know the U.S. and experiencing the adventure of "going North," all played a part in the decision to migrate.

Whatever the compelling forces to migrate may be, the reality of the lifestyle in which the present wave of migrants find themselves is a sobering one. It is characterized by the following conditions:

- In 1978, 70% of farmworkers earned less than \$2,000, only 9.9% earned more than \$8,000. (CHDC Annual Report, 1981)
- In 1979 the migrant's life expectancy was 49 years, compared to a national average of 73 years.
- The infant mortality rate among migrants is 25% higher than the national average.
- The migrant death rate from influenza and pneumonia is 20% higher than the national average.
- Poor nutrition causes pre- and post-natal deaths, anemia, extreme dental problems, and poor mental and physical development of the children. (Interstate Migrant Education Task Force, 1979)
- The life style of the migrant farmworker and his family is characterized by frequent moves, substandard housing, inadequate plumbing and limited access to quality medical care. (Interstate Migrant Education Task Force, 1979)
- A 40% dropout rate from high school, as compared to 15% for Anglo students. (California Master Plan for Migrant Education, 1976)

Mexican migration to the United States has been temporary in nature. Until the 1960's, most migrants were men who would leave their families for varying lengths of time to obtain U.S. wages for survival. These men were participants in the Bracero Program, the intent of which was the short-term employment of farm workers. With the demise of the program in 1964, and contrary to popular belief, a significant percentage of Mexican migrants did not settle permanently in the U.S. (Reichert, 1978) They continued the pattern of short-term employment, bringing with them wives and children. This sense of being a "sojourner" in the U.S. leads to the strong retention of the Spanish language, as well as psychological, familial and economic ties with Mexico. These attitudes are reflected in the low rates of naturalization among those who obtain legal permanent resident status; indeed, this status merely serves as legal passage back and forth across the border. (Cornelius, 1982)

The temporary worker faces a disadvantage in any attempt to move up in job status; unlike his compatriot who remains permanently in the U.S. and improves his status from bottom-level, unskilled service or farm laborer to better paying, semi-skilled factory or supervisory work, the temporary worker remains in the worst of the low paying jobs. Moreover, the job status of most temporary migrants does not improve after successive trips to the U.S.; however, their status at home may be improved.

The short-term, undocumented worker thus becomes entrapped in the lowest-paying, most insecure jobs in the U.S. labor market and becomes subject to the willful discriminatory

practices often perpetuated on people in this classification.

The pool of immigrants is one that is constantly being depleted by migrants returning to Mexico and replenished by new arrivals. It is a fluid pool. (Cornelius, 1982) Only a minority of the new arrivals each year opt to remain in California for more than a year.

The closeness to the motherland and the newness of many of the migrants contribute to the retainment of the native language and culture. This retention of a rich heritage is viewed by some as a rejection of fundamental American values and institutions. Middle-aged Mexican immigrants, whose psychological and cultural frames of reference are still in Mexico, are not resisting assimilation into U.S. society; they simply have a weak sense of identification with "being American." The desire to return home reinforces these ties. (Cornelius, 1982)

Their sense of "temporariness" within the U.S. is also reinforced by fears of some sort of mass expulsion of Mexican-born people from the U.S., comparable to the mass round-up and forced expatriation campaigns conducted in 1920-1, 1929-35, and 1953-54, which were aimed at undocumented Mexicans. A study of Mexican immigrants living in Northern California found that many were "fearful of deportation *even when they have legal status in this country.*" (Cornelius, 1982)

The authors (Cornelius, 1982, Fonseca, 1984, Gonzalez, 1980) of recent studies acknowledge that the trend continues to be toward the short term migration of *families*. These families enter a state that is now comprised of one-third ethnic minorities. Out of California's 23.7 million people, 4.5 million in 1980 were Hispanic. Minority representation is continuing to increase, and by the year 2000 it is projected that nearly half of California's population will be of minority background, with Hispanics comprising 24.4% of the total population. (Ramirez, 1979)

Conditions Children Face in School

California faces one of the most diverse student populations in the U.S. According to 1981-82 data from the State Department of Education, the enrollment in California public schools consists of 56.4% white and 43.4% minority students. Minority students are divided into five categories: Black (9.9%), Hispanic (25.8%), Filipino (1.6%), Asian or Pacific Islander (5.5%), and American Indian or Alaskan Native (.8%). This great diversity characterizes, in large part, the school environment in which the children of migrant farmworkers enter.

Racial Isolation

In general, minority students find themselves attending schools with minority-majority populations. Between 1968 and 1978, racial isolation of minority schools actually increased. (Brown and Haycock, 1984) Minorities tend to be located in specific geographic areas, and, in the case of the Hispanic, these areas are concentrated in the large urban areas and in the agricultural counties of central California. Some 81% of Chicano students attend school in only eight California counties. (Brown and Haycock, 1984) It is in the agricultural areas of central California where the majority of migrants enter the school system. These schools, those with high minority enrollment, are less likely to offer students high quality resources—including teachers, books and physical facilities. (Brown and Haycock, 1984) In addition, the situation is compounded by these facts: according to a 1980 *National Center for Educational Statistics* report, Hispanic children enroll in school at rates lower than those for non-Hispanic students, they fall behind their classmates in progressing through school and they have a higher attrition rate. In California, 34% of the Hispanic students enrolled in the 9th grade in 1979 did not complete high school in 1982-83. Furthermore, the cumulative effect of this attrition process is considerably different for Hispanics than for all other students. In the 20 to 24 year-old population, 84% of the whites and 82% of the Blacks were high school graduates; however, only 55% of the Hispanics had completed high school. (Brown and Haycock, 1984) The picture for the migrant student is even more dismal. According to an ERIC Fact sheet, "it takes approximately three years for the average migrant student in California and Texas to move the one grade level from the third to the fourth grade. The result is a confused, over-aged, and under-achieving student. Most migrant students don't stay in school past the 8th grade. They have only a 40% chance of entering the 9th grade and a slim 11% chance of entering the 12th grade. 90% do not graduate from high school. (Brown and Haycock, 1984)

Language Minority Status

A characteristic of nearly every migrant child upon entering the U.S. is language minority status. Language proficiency plays a significant role in the eventual educational and social adjustment of students. It is widely believed that the nature of the school experience of non-English speaking students is significantly different from that of their peers.

If a student doesn't speak English, she/he cannot learn in English. Yet many students are not given the opportunity to learn English. According to 1976 statistics reported by NCES, in those states where the need was greatest for English as a Second Language or Bilingual instruction for Limited English Proficiency students, only one-third to two-thirds of the Hispanic children were being served. In California only 62% of those in need were enrolled in support programs.

This linguistic difference may cause complex social problems for the migrant child upon entering school in the United States. Stone (Dunbar and Kravitz, 1976) reviews a few of the particular linguistic differences that Spanish speaking children face. Patterns of speech and thought inculcated by the use of Spanish often do not match those of English (in English a clock runs, while in Spanish it walks). Omission of the final consonant and the use of the future tense can cause usage problems in English. In Spanish, omission of the final consonant is seldom likely to affect the meaning of a word, but it may cause difficulties in English ("I hope it *rain* today"). Also, the present tense is often used in Spanish where English will call for the future tense. A Spanish speaker using this structure might say, in English, "I *see* you tomorrow." In addition, Spanish speaking children often develop a "mixed" language facility. Since young children have a limited Spanish vocabulary they begin to build their repertoire by adding English vocabulary thus producing sentences such as "yo le dije que I wouldn't do it" (I told him that I wouldn't do it).

While these may appear to be only minor problems, ones which do not really prohibit communication, they are ones that may lead to the establishment or reinforcement of negative attitudinal reactions and stereotyping of the non-native speaker. It is this type of cultural response that leads to a sense of we-theyness and eventual ostracism of children in an educational setting. Furthermore, this particular type of "bilingualism" based as it is on a mixture of conceptual borrowing without the depth of cultural understanding, interfere, according to Holland (Stone and DeNevi, 1971) with the more thorough learning of either language. The result may be that the child has fewer complex language symbols at her/his command than the Anglo classmate.

Different Cognitive Style

Another area of recent interest centers around the exploration of how people as individuals and as members of cultural groups function cognitively. The purpose of this cross-cultural research is to examine basic thinking processes to see how other people differ from ourselves, and to see how we are the same. This theme emerged in a 1982 UNESCO series of essays addressing the socio-cultural situation of migrant farmworkers and their families entitled *Living in Two Cultures*. The authors stated that it should be recognized that while not necessarily matching that of the host country, the cognitive model of the Mexican constitutes an equally valid starting point for the organization of the training and education of the worker and his children. This sentiment is echoed by many. Cole and Scribner, in their work on the relations between culture and thought, have found differences in cognitive style to be strongly correlated with differences in culture. (Parris, 1982) One type of research on

cognitive style has to do with field dependence (or sensitivity) and field independence. Although the validity of the correlation between field sensitivity or field independence has been questioned, the area reflects the type of research on cross-cultural cognition which has had an effect on instruction in multi-ethnic settings.

Based on Witkin's identification of two types of learning styles which arise from different child-rearing practices Ramirez and Castañeda have explored the concept that Mexican American children, especially those from a traditional Mexican environment, experience child raising practices more closely identified with the field-dependent socialization patterns. This is characterized by strictness of child rearing, with emphasis on respect for authority and social convention, close ties to the mother, and a more formal relationship with the father, and with emphasis on loyalty to the family. (Ovando and Collier, 1985) Their study confirmed their belief that children from a traditional Mexican environment scored higher in the field-dependent direction when administered tests of cognitive style, than children reared in a less traditional, more acculturated Mexican American home. Since the teaching style of most American schools tends to value field-independence over field-dependence, there is often a mismatch of cognitive styles for migrant students.

Inadequate Assessment

Stratification of children in American schools also happens as a result of specific access practices centered around assessment of a child's intelligence, literacy and test performance. Identification and assessment of language minority students is a procedure recommended by the federal government to assure the protection of rights provided by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, in which

No person in the U.S. shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance. (Public Law 88-352, Section 601, July 2, 1964.)

Memorandums have been issued in 1970 and 1975 (the Lau Remedies) by the Office for Civil Rights in which recommended procedures for local school districts to be in compliance with Supreme Court rulings were given. The Lau Remedies identify 4 main areas: (1) identification, (2) language assessment, (3) diagnostic-prescriptive process, and (4) exit criteria. Confusion and controversy abound. De Avila and Duncan, 1979, recognize that a number of problems have arisen from use of the Lau Remedies. The memorandum was written in response to the legal mandate, without a solid theoretical or empirical research base on which to build the categories and definitions. They provide general guidelines to school

districts but fail to provide the assessment expert with operational definitions for actually carrying out the required task. (Cohen, 1980) Centers were established to help school districts to comply with the law; however, under the present Administration, the Office for Civil Rights has not carried out vigorous enforcement of the requirements. Without proper identification, assessment and placement, students often languish in inappropriate classes. Migrant students, especially, need the benefits of careful and accurate placement. A good diagnostic test can help a teacher place children within two weeks of their work level. This allows students to learn new skills in sequence. Thus, even though program and curriculum continuity may be lost when the migrant child moves, skill continuity can be maintained. (DeAvila and Duncan, 1979) The appropriateness of tests remains a major concern. According to Ovando, "Teachers complain bitterly that many tests mandated by the school system seem to be inappropriate because they include items with cultural bias or vocabulary to which the students have not yet been exposed, test skills with which the students have not yet had experience, lack content validity, are normed on white middle-class children..." (Scott, 1974)

The assessment process resembles a mine field: it is an area that must be traversed—with extreme caution to avoid the surrounding dangers.

Non-caring Attitudes

Ramirez and Castañeda advocated the recognition of and response to the Mexican American's characteristic field-sensitive cognitive style in the early 1970's as a means of helping to foster a more positive sense of self-worth and success in school. The need continues. The 1984 Hispanic Policy Development Project "Make Something Happen" recognizes that the problem of success for Hispanics in school is not merely a language problem...it states, "However, we caution educators against focusing on language to the exclusion of other skills and experiences. Language is not the only important issue for Hispanics, nor is there some unusual and exclusive strategy that can remedy the problems Hispanic youths confront. Every child is special and unique, but overall, children have the same basic needs. They need to feel that people care about them, they need to feel that they belong, and, most important, they need to *feel good about themselves* so that they can experience the joy and satisfaction of achievement."

A positive self-image is necessary to build good feelings about oneself and this struggle for *identity* is central, I believe, to the issue of migration. The results of living in two cultures bring strain between the old self and the new, manifested in problems of identity, social ambivalence, alienation and rejection. The migrant worker finds himself straddling the two cultures, with one foot in a cultural environment resembling his homeland, usually centered

around family and friends and with the other foot in a new, unfamiliar cultural milieu, usually centered around work and public life. This dichotomous existence leads to the acquisition of two sets of languages: his native language which primarily serves him for private use with family and friends; and a specialized language of the country of employment, which for the migrant is devoid of affective connotation and has essentially a passive and public function. (Parris, 1982) This situation may improve somewhat for the migrant who settles in the United States, or at least settles into a consistent pattern of disconnection. However, for the migrant who routinely travels back and forth to Mexico on an annual basis, a more intense disassociation, especially for the children, may occur.

The child learns early on that, in the host country, she/he has what Swetland terms "zero exchange value" in the classroom setting. (Parris, 1982) This theory is based on the assumption that migrants have less value (exchange rate) than native workers, and by using them in the work force more profit is realized. While the migrant may generate higher capital value through his work, he generates little, if any, social value. He may be said, then, in human relationship functions, to have a zero exchange value. Migrant students in classrooms learn that in the hierarchy of human dimensions and value, they are at the bottom. Swetland (in Parris, 1982) observed the following illustration of this among migrant workers in Norway: Teachers "apologize" for rejecting students, yet continue this practice until the student finally fails. Excuses for the rejection include: (1) there are too many students, thus the need for teaching to only the most capable; (2) the need to change class time or place—with the notification being given in the host country language, and (3) arranging classes at times and locations suitable to the instructor but ignoring the needs of the students.

The National Commission on Secondary Education for Hispanics noted that the least successful schools in their study were those "that left their students feeling alienated, unchallenged, unappreciated, and their families feeling unrecognized and irrelevant to the education of their children. Over and over again parents expressed how unwelcome the schools made them feel." One parent stated that "We as parents are not welcome or even allowed access to the school. They say if we cannot speak English, there is no point in wanting to see the principal or counselors."

This plea for recognition and a sense of "caring" must not go unheeded if Hispanics are to improve their school performance. Schools need to take the responsibility for communicating with parents, adapting their approaches to the schedules and life-styles of parents; reaching out to them in their homes, if need be. Otherwise, through this systemic rejection process the migrant child in the United States learns of and internalizes her/his "zero" exchange value.

Conditions Families Face in Society

The above discussion focused on specific factors that cause stratification and failure within the educational system. Next, social stratification within the larger society will be explored. It is here that discriminatory practices are often maintained more bluntly and severely. American schools, rather than shaping societal views, tend to be a reflection of prevailing values, a maintainer of a status quo that relegates minorities to an inferior status within society along with lessened expectations and a rejection of their cultural worth. The difficulties discussed above are ones experienced, for the most part, when different cultures interact with the American school system. The Mexican migrants have traveled to this country on a family mission and view education for their offspring as one of the most dependable methods for lifting oneself out of a life of poverty. The hopefulness that is imbedded in this belief, the assumption that education coupled with hard work and diligence will result in equal access to upward social mobility by people of color in the U.S. has proven for many to be a false assumption. Those who view the failure solely in terms of dysfunctional interaction between culture and schooling, whether it be in terms of cultural deficit and/or cultural difference, or contextually based, may be viewing the issue too narrowly. If school is a reflection of the larger society, then the problem may largely rest there. Two theories are presented which help to explain the failure of education to make a difference. Both theories seek explanations in the larger societal context, in a structure that insists on fostering inequality to maintain the status quo.

Belief that Success is Individual's Responsibility

Michael Lewis develops his theory of the "individual—as—central sensibility" from the observations and discussions he had with the citizens of a typical American community in which he lived for 3 years in the mid 1970's and on his training as a sociologist. As an historical perspective he states that "inequality has been very well institutionalized in most societies in that it has not been a source of these moral dilemmas which occur when there is a departure in actual behavior from values that are widely if not universally endorsed." (Lewis, 1978) For eons people have accepted (though not necessarily enjoyed) their fateful status in society, believing that this was the given scheme of things. It wasn't until fairly recently that the masses in other countries began to question the justification of unequal treatment. The United States was predicated on a different belief. It was a belief that saw inequality as a source of concern whose existence was, nevertheless, justified in egalitarian and individualistic terms. That is, as Lewis states, "while having to recognize the existence of unequal outcomes Americans have characteristically emphasized the equal *chance*: in reality, the chance for

individuals to wind up unequal." (Lewis, 1978) Americans have traditionally viewed achievement as the result of individual effort and have regarded those who have failed to achieve as morally inferior. Advantages were equally available to all, thus, those who experienced poverty or suffered some disadvantage must have failed, somehow, to make the most of these abundant advantages. Lewis sees the development of this individualistic moral sensibility as forming the basis of the American culture of inequality. He states that, "it is a sensibility that virtually ignores the impact of societal structure upon personal achievement and mobility." Accordingly, it is the individual alone who is socially significant, who determines what his or her contribution to the commonweal will be, and who is therefore responsible for the degree of personal success achieved. Lewis acknowledges that this sensibility in its pure moralistic form may have been chipped away a bit and modified to allow for "deficiency explanations" (deficient family background, cultural values, degree of cognitive competence) for the absence of productive, successful efforts. In either form, however, it still remains the fault of the *individual* in any failure to succeed.

Thus we have one perspective that portrays the U.S. as needing inequality in order to keep alive our profound belief in and adherence to a system in which "success" or "failure" is attributed solely to individual responsibility. This premise does not augur well for society as a whole and is even worse for the migrant aspiring to upward mobility. From Lewis's perspective, it would seem that the migrant child entering our society from Mexico really has no chance for success, unless as a group his people can find another segment (scape-goat) to take their place on the bottom.

Belief that Minorities are Subordinate

Another pertinent theory has been developed by Ogbu, based on his research on minorities in Stockton. While his theory analyzes the reasons for black and Mexican American failure in school, it relies on the larger societal system for an explanation. Ogbu studied the school failure of "subordinate" or "castelike" minorities, those minorities who were incorporated into the U.S. more or less against their will. He believes that the high proportion of school failure among subordinate minorities is both a reaction and an adaptation to the limited opportunity available to them to benefit from their education. (Ogbu, 1974)

This limitation exists even though Americans believe that a person should be employed, paid and granted other benefits based on educational attainment. American society has systematically limited the educational attainment of subordinate minorities by (1) providing these minorities with inferior education and (2) forcing the termination of their education sooner than that of the dominant group — based on "poor" school performance (caused by

their earlier inferior education) and social and economic hardships. Even when subordinate minorities make it through the system and achieve both a quantitative and qualitative educational parity they are often forced to accept employment and wages below those given to whites. (Sims and Bass de Martinez, 1981) This results in an educational dilemma in which, according to Ogbu, the subordinate minority's children,

"are expected to work as hard as whites in school for fewer ultimate rewards from society; this is not an individual but a group problem. Consequently, the solution that has evolved, a high proportion of school failure, is a group rather than an individual solution. Faced with this educational dilemma, subordinate minorities apparently chose to stop working hard in school since they could neither expect more for their hard work nor force society to change its discriminatory practice."

Both blacks and Mexican-Americans learn that they lose *just the same* in competing with whites, whether or not they have an education. This belief on their behalf becomes a self-filling prophecy that feeds into the subsequent belief of the dominant group that the subordinate minorities are intellectually and culturally inferior to whites. Ogbu further states that,

"These beliefs and theories form the basis on which the schools sort and classify children from subordinate minorities, a classification that often marks the children as failures *before* the school actually teaches them anything. It is important to remember that teachers participate in the belief system of the dominant whites rather than that of subordinate minorities, and that their definition, classification, and treatment of the children are determined by that belief system. The major function of the white belief system is to justify the low position of subordinate minorities in the socioeconomic structure of society by ensuring that subordinate minorities do poorly in school. Their low position in turn reinforces the white belief system."

In order to decrease school failure Ogbu advocates the development of a broad social policy that would include not only school reforms but also the elimination of job ceilings for educated minorities. Three prerequisites are needed for this to succeed: (1) The recognition on the part of the dominant culture that this type of discrimination and stratification is still in practice, (2) the recognition that real change requires opening up decent youth and adult futures, not on patching up individuals' supposed deficiencies and (3) the recognition on the part of the subordinate minorities that by adopting appropriate academic attitudes and learning to persevere their school performance will improve. (Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi, 1986)

Migrant Education 20 Years Later

The Migrant Education Program was an educational and social response to the needs of migrant students as they were perceived in the late 1960's and early '70's. The purpose of this section is to analyze the philosophical foundations and the student and program goals of Migrant Education as stated in the 1976 Master Plan (the most current plan under which the

program is operating) in light of the theories reviewed herein and in recognition of both the "positive" intentions of the program and the persistent failure of migrant students.

Philosophical Foundations

The educational and social needs of migrant students are unique, and this fact was acknowledged with the establishment of the Migrant Education Program through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Title I (Public Law 89-10, as amended by Public Law 89-750, Public Law 90-247, Public Law 90-230, and Public Law 93-380). The California Master Plan for Migrant Education was published in 1976 to fulfill the requirements dictated by the California State Legislature in Assembly Bill 1962, Chapter 1037, Statutes of 1973, as Amended by Assembly Bill 1825, Chapter 392, Statutes of 1975 and further amended by Assembly Bill 1382, Chapter 942, 1981. The intention of the law was to "provide supplemental educational and health services to children of migrant farmworkers." Migrant Education defines a "migrant child" as one who moves across school district boundaries with his or her parents or guardians. Federal guidelines state that the move has to be for the purpose of seeking work in agriculture or fishing, and must have been made within the last six years. (California Master Plan for Migrant Education, 1976) The following special needs of migrant students were those listed as the ones most often reported in the literature and provide the philosophical foundation and rationale for the program. (California Master Plan for Migrant Education, 1976)

- The need to compensate for inadequate living conditions: Sometimes, basic needs for food, shelter, or clothing are unmet. More often, migrant children are conspicuously lacking the "better things in life" commonly displayed by other children at school.
- The need to compensate for a frequently interrupted and itinerate education: Migrant children must adjust to frequent changes in location, teachers, classmates, and curriculum. Their teachers often do not have time to assess their learning problems or to identify their interests and abilities before they have moved on. Their education, therefore, lacks continuity.
- The need to overcome health and nutritional defects which interfere with the educational process: Migrant children who need glasses, suffer from anemia, or have severe dental problems often have no practical remedy available to them. Statistics indicate a much greater health deficiency among migrant children than among resident children, with a corresponding lack of professional health care available to migrant families.
- The need for others to know, understand, and appreciate the nature of their problem: This need encompasses peers, teachers, principals, school boards, and community groups.
- The need to find acceptance as individuals, as members of an occupational group, and as members of a particular subculture: Migrant children often report feeling held in low esteem by classmates or teachers. Such feelings crush self-esteem and

self-identity and lead to failure.

- The need to identify with successful adult role models who are similar to themselves in background, culture, and language: Most migrant children in California are from rural Mexican backgrounds; few teachers are. As a consequence, it is difficult for migrant children to project success in school for persons like themselves.
- The need for motivation to complete a high school education: Records show that most migrant children have dropped out of school by age sixteen, though almost all migrant children polled at the sixth grade expect to finish high school. Many social and financial pressures are felt by the older migrant children to quit school in favor of immediate employment.
- The need for personal, vocational, and family guidance: The demands of a hard life cause many migrant families to make personal and career choices which further condemn them to poor circumstances. Wise counsel from experienced persons is needed by families trapped in ignorance, cultural conflict, and poverty in order that some of their members may succeed.
- The need to communicate: Many migrant families are Spanish-speaking. Children of these families need to communicate in Spanish while they learn English, skill subjects, and social skills.
- The need for common experiences: Migrant families have little leisure time and small resources. Consequently, migrant children often lack personal experiences which are taken for granted in textbooks and classroom presentations. Lacking experiences familiar to others, a child quickly becomes isolated from those who share a common experience.
- The need for relevant opportunities: Migrant families are eager for opportunities to improve their lot, but they frequently experience frustration and discouragement when opportunities are extended which contain difficulties they cannot surmount. A common defense against such frustration is to withdraw, to refuse future opportunities, and to discourage other family members from similar attempts to succeed.
- The need to be recognized for their potential and creativity.
- The need for assistance from the community at large.

In 1973, a series of goal setting meetings was conducted in order to establish a priority ranking of goals for program planners. Parents, teachers, aides, and administrators took part in the process and agreed upon the following ranking of goals (California Master Plan for Migrant Education, 1976):

Goals for Migrant Students

1. To develop skills in reading, writing, and listening in English and their dominant language
2. To gain a general education
3. To develop a desire for learning now and in the future
4. To develop a good self-image and a feeling of self-worth
5. To develop skills to enter specific fields of work, be prepared for better jobs, and gain information needed to make job selections

6. To learn to respect and get along with people who think, dress, and act differently
7. To learn to respect and get along with people with whom they work and live
8. To develop an awareness of civic rights and responsibilities
9. To learn how to examine and use information
10. To learn to deal with their economic future by being good managers of money, property, and resources

Migrant Program Goals

1. To provide inservice training for all personnel involved in the education of migrant children
2. To provide special educational services for "exceptional" migrant children
3. To ensure that pupil personnel services are provided to meet the special needs of migrant students
4. To establish priorities for the allocation of migrant education funds
5. To ensure the delivery of the necessary health services and system to the migrant students
6. To provide for migrant parent involvement in cooperation with school districts serving migrant students
7. To provide for bilingual instructional aides (tutors) for individualized instruction of migrant students
8. To provide bilingual teachers for migrant—funded teaching positions

An analysis of these needs and goals show that many are founded on the beliefs inherent in the theories discussed above. These are illustrated in the chart below.

Theory	Migrants Need	Underlying Belief
Cultural Deprivation	1) to develop a desire for learning now and in the future	• poor people don't value education and need to develop a "future" orientation
	2) to learn to become good money managers	• poverty deprives people of the ability to think for themselves, otherwise, why would they choose to remain in such situations
	3) to make better life choices	
	4) to listen to "wise" counsel from experienced persons	• the dominant culture knows what's best for those entrapped in ignorance and poverty
Cultural Mismatch	1) to get along with and respect others with whom they work and/or are different	• members of an "inferior" culture need to make the changes necessary to get along with the dominant culture
	2) to have common experiences	• i.e., "Anglo" experiences—the right ones for this society
Individual as central	1) to have relevant opportunities	• it's their fault that they become frustrated with appropriate experiences provided by the dominant culture—if they really wanted to they could overcome the difficulties.
	2) to compensate for inadequate living and health conditions	• How can you reverse years of poor housing and nutrition that lead to chronic health problems?
Caste System	1) to identify with similar successful adult role models	• Let's encourage a few "Tio Tacos" to show that it can be done.
	2) to be motivated to complete high school	• Work-study funds can be used to help kids remain in school.
	3) to find acceptance both as individuals and as members of an occupational group	• An occupational group that has a certain place in American society.

Program Co-optation

There is no doubt that the program intentions were sincere and that many of the accomplishments have been positive and many individual children have benefited. However, the fact remains that after nearly 20 years migrant students continue to meet with resounding failure in the American school system and that this failure follows even those who return to Mexico. I am convinced that the answer that comes closest to the question "why?" is the one that embraces the theory that Americans need a structure of inequality, where success and failure are perceived as functions of individual characteristics, to maintain the status quo of the dominant culture. This opinion is shared by practitioners within Migrant Education, the most articulate of whom was a Regional Director for 12 years. He ran one of the largest, most innovative, advocacy programs in the state and made opponents along the way. He took time to discuss his views with me. (Personal Communication with Frank Ludovina, March 1986)

The original intention of the program was vital; it was one of the few agencies of true advocacy for migrant students. The law was provisionary on all fronts—for the educational, social, and political rights of the children and their parents. The Regional Director felt that there had been a perversion of the original program intent over the years, to the point that the program has become emaciated, a captive of the "system." The fundamental needs remain unchanged and largely unmet. Admittedly, migrants move, thus creating a fluid pool of school clients; however, for those Hispanics who cease to migrate, the picture isn't much brighter. The director feels that the migrant program refuses to correct itself, and that it refuses, in spite of the noble rhetoric, to adapt to the *real* needs of the clients. Moreover, in this failure to respond, the program staff has learned to "blame the victim," as does the larger society! The early fire and spirit is lost—it has "been sucked up by the system." There also is evidence over the last several years that the migrant program is becoming more and more conservative, that those committed originators, both Anglo and Hispanic, are out to maintain the status quo and protect themselves. They have come to the point where Lewis believes that most people eventually arrive; they have come to believe in and manifest the individual as central sensibility. The director, referred to above, who himself has mellowed, stated that the system has won again, that any irritant is not allowed to continue forever and ways are found, through job security, federal regulations, threats of funding cut-backs, etc., to co-opt the program. In order to maintain the battle and win the war, soldiers need to know that reinforcements are up and coming. In the case of migrant education the new recruits are not being taught to "fight," as they were in the early days; moreover, there is little public support

for this kind of advocacy training.

The Need Remains

Time is running out. By the year 2000, based on current demographic projections, the working force in California will be almost entirely a Latino force. David Hayes-Bautista has characterized the 2,000,000 Latinos in the U.S. in 1985 as comprising the 5th largest Latin American Nation in the Western Hemisphere! (Hayes-Bautista, 1984) The Anglo "baby-boomers" are aging and by the year 2000 will be dependent on the working Latinos to support their social, health and political concerns. How this will be accomplished depends, on a large part, on how this same Anglo group responds to the current social, educational and political needs of Latinos. Eighty percent of the current 6 to 7 million Latinos in California are of Mexican origin or extraction, and, as has been documented in this report, their needs are not being met. The continued disenfranchisement of the nation of Latinos is cause for concern in some and outright fear in others. According to Hayes-Bautista,

"The growth of the [Anglo] elderly poses serious social policy questions for the future of North American society. The burden of support for programs for the elderly threatens to bankrupt the economy. The costs of income maintenance, medical services, housing, and general social services, whether provided by the public or private sector, will be carried by the younger [Latino] generation, and will create such a burden that there is fear in some economic circles of a generational rebellion shortly after the year 2000, as the younger generation becomes less willing to support the ever-increasing numbers of elderly." (Hayes-Bautista, 1984)

Perhaps the only hope is fear!

These signs are not new—the data have been increasingly evident for the last 20 years; however, the belief in and adherence to the theories presented herein, combined with a narrow viewpoint that sees success as a sharp pinnacle, with only room for a few at the top, has prohibited the true reformation of social policy in America.

The issue of migrant and, indeed, Hispanic success in school is a complex one. The components presented in this chapter represent major hurdles; yet, for the international migrant child, the race does not stop here. These students experience a very different set of educational expectations in their home country. Expectations that stem from the underlying societal values that form the current educational philosophy of the Mexican system. To facilitate understanding of the differences that migrant children encounter when transferring from the Mexican system to the American one, Chapter 3 presents an historical overview of the Mexican educational system.

Chapter 3

History of the Mexican Educational System

En cierto sentido la historia de México, como la de cada Mexicano, consiste en una lucha entre las formas y fórmulas en que se pretende encerrar a nuestro ser y las explosiones con que nuestra espontaneidad se venga.

In a certain sense, the history of Mexico, like that of each Mexican, is a struggle between forms and formulas which attempt to confine our beings and the explosions which come with our spontaneity.

Octavio Paz

Brief Historical Overview

The Pre-Colonial Era

Prior to the Spanish invasion the people indigenous to Mexico belonged to highly developed and unique societies. Their nations boasted well-organized economic, religious, and political systems. The Aztecs and the Mayas were highly skilled craftsmen and artists. This system was quite appropriate to their way of life, and children were brought up in a healthy manner. According to Kneller (1951), "The Aztecs demonstrated a considerable understanding of child development. Natural inclination was respected, and training was adjusted to the various age levels." Keen observes that the Aztecs generally were far better educated than the Spanish soldiers who conquered them.

Though this picture may seem somewhat simplistic, it provides a framework for comparing the life of indigenous people before and after the conquest. Never since then has the Indian family been able to provide its children with the learning necessary to function as vital members of society. The conquest destroyed the fabric of indigenous education and replaced it with a system whose primary purpose was to initiate the Indians into subserviency and impose Catholicism and the Spanish language.

The Colonial Period

During the Colonial Era, powerful forces emerged to shape dynamics still inherent in Mexican society: social, economic and political stratification, and a very powerful Catholic Church. It is within this context that education evolved during that period.

Indian life was so changed with the arrival of Spaniards, that no indigenous parent could teach their child what was vital for success in this new society which was foreign and oppressive. The new colonial masters were interested only in teaching one thing, their



religion. The Spanish conquerers stripped the Indians of their land, wealth, and culture. Sanchez (1944) states that, "One of the first acts of Hernan Cortes after taking Mexico City was to ask the King of Spain to send holy men who would devote themselves to the instruction and conversion of Indians."

Spaniards came to Mexico for wealth and power; the only cost to them was "taming the uncivilized natives." (Sanchez, 1936) Landlordship characterized the relations between Spaniards and Indians. The "encomienda system," whereby lands and whole communities were granted to individuals by the King, resulted in the virtual enslavement of indigenous people. Theoretically, encomenderos were to see to the health, well-being and education of their workers. In practice, however, landlords were only interested in their ability to produce. Thus we see the early development of economic relations characterized by a rigid class structure still predominant in Mexican life today.

The scarce social welfare systems that existed were engineered by the clergy. Schools served as vehicles for the dissemination of christianity. Early educational efforts were characterized by isolated attempts of individual priests to produce good Catholics. Organized educational efforts aimed to train young aristocrats to exercise control. Toward the end of the 16th century, Jesuit schools proliferated and education was offered to Indian children teaching them a repertoire of classical studies. Those Indians educated by the Jesuits, however, were nevertheless bound to roles of servitude. Thus, the education available during that period was characterized by a dominant Church and a non-existent national educational structure.

Pre-Revolutionary Period

With the advent of independence, liberals challenged the Church in regards to control over education. Jose Maria Luis Mora, an influential liberal theorist, pushed for the reforms of 1833 which marked the clergy's loss of power in the realm of higher education. At that time, efforts to establish a national school system began. These short-lived reforms laid the foundation for a series of laws enacted in the 1860's that made elementary education free and compulsory.

A somewhat anarchical sociopolitical atmosphere characterized Mexico between 1821 and 1876. Mexico warred with the U.S., was for a short time ruled by France, and housed a struggle for power between progressive and conservative forces. Between 1860 and 1876 President Juarez implemented several liberal reforms which were often met with conservative rebellions. In spite of the political bantering, the building blocks for a national system were

solidly laid.

In its formative years, Mexican education was shaped by the determined positivism of Gabino Barreda, Joaquin Barranda and Justo Sierra. President Benito Juarez appointed Barreda as head of a commission on education to propose new legislation. Through his position Barreda prompted many of the reforms which occurred in the 1860's. The curriculum was secularized and science became the basis of education. Religion was formally excluded from the national curriculum in 1874 and was replaced with "moral education." The political climate surrounding the establishment of this growing educational structure was to shift during the next thirty years, however.

One of Juarez' main opponents, Porfirio Diaz, finally overthrew him in 1876 and remained in the seat of political power until 1910, a period commonly referred to as the Porfiriato.

Diaz' "benevolent (military supported) dictatorship" was characterized by urbanization and industrial/commercial growth. In his eyes, the benefits of expansion would trickle down and prompt the development of a middle class. The bourgeoisie enjoyed this period as one of enlightenment whereby European art, culture and architecture predominated. Unlike his predecessor, Diaz saw no reason to antagonize the Church; rather, he chose to ally himself with it and proceeded to reappropriate its land and look the other way where schools were concerned.

Even though progress in the realm of education was in some ways limited by the political attitudes of this period, the determination of Barranda and Sierra certainly had positive results. Under Diaz, Barranda and Sierra served consecutive terms. Their task was to create a primary school system that was obligatory, uniform in content and extended to the entire nation. Sierra's achievements were remarkable since his efforts were opposed by liberals and conservatives alike. On one side, conservative elitists believed that most Mexicans were incapable of being educated, moreover, they strongly opposed the expense of implementing and enforcing what, to them, was an inappropriate program. On the other side, liberals believed that obligatory education violated the rights of parents to decide how and even, whether, their children were to be educated. Nonetheless, Sierra steadfastly maintained that mandatory, universal education was essential for national unity and growth. He contended that because Mexico was susceptible to internal strife and foreign invasion, it was necessary for the government to actively promote integration. Schools were to be assigned the task of molding a homogeneous population based on values, attitudes and skills appropriate to modernization. His curriculum not only stressed the learning of skills but also official knowledge, history,

values and nationalism. The promotion of patriotism encouraged obedience to central authority - a dynamic still evident in the Mexican educational system today. As a result of Sierra's driving leadership, government programs took official form in the First Organic Law for Compulsary Free Education (1893), the creation of the Department of Elementary Schools (1896) and the establishment of the National University (1910).

Despite these concrete legislative advancements, problems continued to exist. Only urban areas reaped the benefits of Sierra's efforts; little educational expansion was felt in rural areas. School enrollments did increase, but only among the urban lower middle class. The upper classes continued to send their children to the "better" private schools hence preserving a tradition of social stratification based on educational opportunities.

Revolutionary Mexico (1910-1946)

During Diaz' reign, progress centered around industrial growth, enlightenment only benefitted the middle and upper classes, and church allied with state to reestablish the powerful position it had before. In 1910 however, Mexican people banded together to rebel against a system which continued to oppress Indians and mestizos despite Mexico's colonial independence. Revolutionary leaders like Villa, Zapata, Orozco and Obregon organized peasant communities, and were successful in overthrowing the tired Diaz dictatorship.

Unlike the post-independence era, which merely traded colonial exploitation for internal oppression, the Mexican Revolution truly aimed to transform the social fabric of the nation. Revolutionary leaders, determined not to experience a repeat of the Porfiriato, advocated for suffrage, no re-election, land redistribution, a shift in economic relations between the have and have nots, and socialist education.

During the early days of the Revolution, political instability prevailed. The different government leaders of the period, Madero, Huerta and Carranza struggled for control. The situation began to stabilize in 1917, under Carranza's leadership. He was responsible for the Constitution which codified the ideas of the revolution through its articles on land nationalization and land distribution. Articles 3, 123 and 130 were particularly important to education. They centralized educational authority, declared religious schools illegal, and provided education for areas where it was unavailable. The rhetoric was good, but action was limited until 1921, when the Obregon administration decided to act on these paper plans.

During this time, educational development in Mexico made great strides. Obregon appointed Jose Vasconcelos as his minister of education; this action-oriented man set the tone for Mexican socialist education. He held three main concerns: to clean up the school

system and instil some order by initiating a federal regulatory program, to provide adequate teacher training, and to provide rural education programs. In 1922, there was a 12% federal budget increase in educational spending, followed by a 15% increase in 1923. By 1924, there were 1,089 rural schools; and a movement for national culture took hold which gave added legitimacy to the Mexican Revolution through an emerging emphasis on creativity in art, literature and music. It was an effort to use art forms to create a folk nationalism that would be shared by all classes of people. The revolution provided a focal point around which all Mexicans could rally. Education became a national priority and stands as Vasconcelos' greatest accomplishment.

The years of the Calles administration (1929-1934) were also invaluable to education. Priorities during these years included: the creation of the Bank of Mexico, and the implementation of an income tax, an infrastructure, and health and education systems. Calles is also remembered for his avid attacks on the Catholic Church. The Church stood as a permanent obstacle to the ideals of the revolutionary government, and Calles actively worked to challenge and dismantle clerical power. He decreed Catholic worship in public a criminal offense and closed down all religious institutions and schools. The Church, however, retaliated and led a boycott on public education, whereupon a network of underground "home schools" cropped up. Violence, another reaction to government measures, erupted when the famous "cristeros" or "defenders of faith," raided public schools, injuring and killing teachers. This Church-State antagonism continued for a decade to come, since revolutionary ideals fundamentally clashed with Catholic dogma.

Calles and his successor Cardenas (1935-1940) worked very hard to engineer the groundwork for a socialist state. Calles' priorities included: educating the masses, changing the social class structure, providing food and decent living conditions for everyone, and transmitting a sense of dignity and culture to the entire Mexican nation. Cardenas took these ideas further by consolidating a six-year plan with three main priorities: to provide access to education to all Mexicans of all ages, to speed agrarian reform, and to fully organize labor.

This was a truly remarkable period in the history of the Mexican educational system. The basic structure as it stands today evolved during the 1920's and 1930's. Many significant advances, especially with regard to rural education, were made then because learning was seen as the main path for growth of a socialist state.

Mexican Socialist Education

The implementation of socialist education began in 1921. The legal commitment was evident in the constitution, but the task of setting up an educational system which would implement revolutionary ideals still remained. Immediate priorities included obtaining school facilities and training teachers. Socialist reformers focused on conquering illiteracy and extending the possibility of education to all, especially to those in the country side.

In 1923, the Department of Rural Education was established to undertake the task of setting up rural schools and training teachers to serve in rural areas. "Misiones Culturales," or Cultural Missions were the educational agencies which sprang up throughout the rural areas to establish schools, train teachers, and disseminate the ideas of socialism. All religious doctrine was completely abolished from all schools (including the private ones). Cultural Missions were comprised of interdisciplinary teams which included nurses, social workers, supervisors, and organizers. For one month, the team and the teachers, in conjunction with the community, built school facilities, assessed the health status of the community, educated the people in regards to health, hygiene, agricultural techniques, and taught them about socialism, organization, and citizens' rights. This social reform affirmed the legitimacy of Indian culture, promoted the agrarian ideals of Emiliano Zapata, unified worker and peasant, and opposed U.S. and European imperialism.

Teachers received intense training in many areas; academic (reading, writing, arithmetic, science and geography), educational (psychology, school organization, teaching methodologies), and practical (agricultural techniques and pottery). Once the mission had completed its work, teachers were left to their towns and carried a lot of responsibility, since they were charged with: teaching, directing school construction, disseminating the ideas of socialism, and organizing the towns into groups and committees. Though this task does sound overwhelming, teachers seemed to receive a lot of national support in their endeavors since they were viewed as socialist emissaries whose goal was to spread socialism throughout the nation via education.

Another remarkable program of the period included the «Centros de Educación Indígena» or Centers for Indigenous Education. In 1937, the Department of Indigenous Education was established, which created twelve boarding schools throughout Mexico whose purpose was to incorporate indians into national life and to bridge the gap between indigenous and twentieth century cultures. The schools admitted older students for a period of two to three years, and aimed to teach them agricultural skills and cooperative principles which they could take back to their communities.

The history of Mexican education shows it to be a period of adaptation to prevailing pressures: the Church, politics, search for national identity and a need to move into the twentieth century. In many ways, these forces are still at work today.

Current Organization of the Educational System

In 1921, a constitutional revision provided that a new Secretariate of Public Education (SEP) be established. The Ministry of Education appointed sub-ministries to implement specific programs, yet all subsectors still reported to the main Ministry of Education in Mexico City. Over the years education became more centralized and bureaucratized; the justification has been the consolidation of national consciousness. Rural education sought not only to take literacy but also a sense of "Mexicanness" to the inaccessible, isolated areas of the country. This expansion represented the commitment of the Federal Government to carry out the mandates of the Constitution of 1917 which provided:

1. Instruction shall be free.
2. All instruction in public institutions shall be secular.
3. No religious corporation or minister of any religious creed shall establish or direct schools of primary instruction.
4. Private primary instruction schools may only be established subject to official supervision.

Article 3 of the current constitution still guarantees free, secular instruction through sixth grade. All schools are regulated and are routinely visited by federal inspectors. There are basically two education systems: federal and state. As noted by Engelbrecht, "This division of systems is a financial distinction rather than a curricular one, since curriculum for all schools is mandated by the Technical Council of Education, an office of the Federal SEP. Private schools need to be incorporated into either system in order to be accredited. Incorporation implies acceptance of prescribed curriculum and textbooks, examinations and school calendars but not economic aid." (Engelbrecht, 1983)

The educational system remains highly centralized, with all major decisions being made in Mexico City by a Council which prescribes the standard curriculum guides for the elementary schools and sets the orientation in which preservice and inservice teachers are trained. The Council also directs the National Commission of Free Textbooks which designs and publishes the books, workbooks, guides and teachers' manuals used throughout the country. Textbooks are provided free to all students so that everyone, regardless of her/his

socioeconomic status will have a minimum amount of materials necessary for study.

The curriculum of Mexican schools has evolved over the years. A major revision in the early 1980's incorporated the idea of "global" education, wherein emphasis is on integration of content with children's experience. (See chapter 9 for more details) Currently texts are being revised to include acknowledgement of and valuing of regional differences.

This recognition of regionalism reflects President de la Madrid's recent move toward decentralization. This is an effort to reallocate some administrative authority (mostly financial) over education to the states. Each state has a delegation, headed by its governor, which will be responsible for supervising human resources, finances, materials and services needed to run the federal schools. However, the major decisions concerning curriculum and methodology of instruction will still be made in Mexico City.

Factors Influencing Educational Effectiveness

By no means has the Ministry of Education been ineffective in attempting to carry out its original mission of providing free education for all, but there have been factors impeding the attainment of this goal. The history of Mexico's educational system reflects the ambiguities of Mexican life: the continuing struggle for power and allegiance between the Church and State, social stratification, and the changing priorities of each new administration.

The Church

Throughout Mexican history, the Church's conservative forces have restricted educational growth. Conflicts often erupt over the content of textbooks, as in 1962, when the Church led a powerful campaign, backed by the Mexican Bar Association, to ban the textbooks because they dealt with Castro and Marxist philosophy. In 1970, another conservative uproar stemmed from the move to include sex education in the primary school curriculum. In 1974, further criticism abounded as a result of text revision which included analyses of "capitalism," "imperialism," and references to the Cuban Revolution. In 1984, the Church rallied to reinstitute religious education into the public school curriculum.

In addition to the Church's attempts to maintain a steady foothold in public school matters, clergy have consistently maintained an influential position in the educational realm through a system of private schools ranging from daycare centers to universities. Despite the clause in Article 3 of the constitution which states that all education shall be secular, every administration since Cardenas has looked the other way in regard to this matter. When religious schools were banned during the 1930's they continued to operate under guise, and since then, they have operated in complete freedom.

The maintenance of the private school system has resulted in class division within the educational realm. While the Ministry of Education's objective has been to democratize education and make it available to a rapidly growing population, the upper and middle classes have increasingly sought private (largely Catholic) education.

Social Stratification

The wide gaps between social classes as seen within an educational context only reflect the sharp stratification in Mexican society at large. These disparities are most notable in urban and rural populations. Rural areas continue to have high illiteracy rates due to the inadequacy or unavailability of schools. Furthermore, these schools are often served by teachers who wish to be in larger towns. Efforts to combat illiteracy have been minute in comparison to the growing severity of the problem which is increasingly becoming an urban phenomena because of the vast migration of rural to urban illiterates and the ever growing birth rate. The increase in the number of adult female illiterates between 1960 and 1980 has vast implications for the future. According to Epstein, "literate women can have a powerful impact on economic growth and social equity even if they never enter the labor force. Most girls become mothers, and a variety of studies have shown that their influence on their children's health and fertility is crucial." Mexico's economic structure is characterized by a tremendous growth in population and a skewed concentration of wealth. The number of people has almost tripled since 1940 - from 20 million then to 77 million in 1984. Even though there have been economic booms within that period, money has largely remained in the hands of the wealthy. Sufficient resources have never been spent on employment and social service programs. Thus each year brings more unemployed and underserved people. Although there have been progressive administrations since Cardenas none of them has sought to attack the problem at its roots, none has implemented a plan for the redistribution of wealth. Instead, social injustice has been accepted as the price for economic development: the pie must grow before it can be sliced differently.

Political Economy, Presidents and their Priorities

Ultimately, educational developments are subject to the economic climate that in turn, is subject to change every six years with the turn of each new administration. This becomes evident when examining the tendencies of particular administrations since the days of Cardenas.

While Cardenas favored improving the lot of the masses through education, unionization and the nationalization of Mexico's oil companies, his conservative successor, Avila

Camacho chose to reverse many of Cardenas' initiatives. He worked to win American favor by promoting American industrial development, collaborating in the implementation of the Bracero program, and halting land reform (supposedly because of the need for food supplies during WWII). Miguel Aleman, who followed (1946), had an even keener interest in industrial growth. The principle theme during his administration was development rather than nationalism. He is known as the architect of modern Mexico, because he favored massive industrialization, urbanization, infrastructural growth (where industry and commerce were concerned), and local/foreign private investment. His priorities reflected those of the middle and upper classes, and almost entirely overlooked social welfare and ,specifically, education.

Lopes Mateos (1958) on the other hand, had a populist orientation and spent heavily on social security and education. His administration sponsored a notable school building program focused on rural education. Ordaz, his successor (1964) was pro-American and politically conservative. He used violence to squelch the student protests of 1968, intolerant of social unrest. His interests lay with sponsoring the Olympics rather than in social services and education.

Unlike his conservative predecessor, Echeverria touted Washington, courted third world causes and favored state involvement in industry. He also directed his attentions toward educational reform, through the revision of national textbooks (mentioned earlier). Echeverria's progressive stance was met with a lot of opposition from the upper classes and powerful business interests.

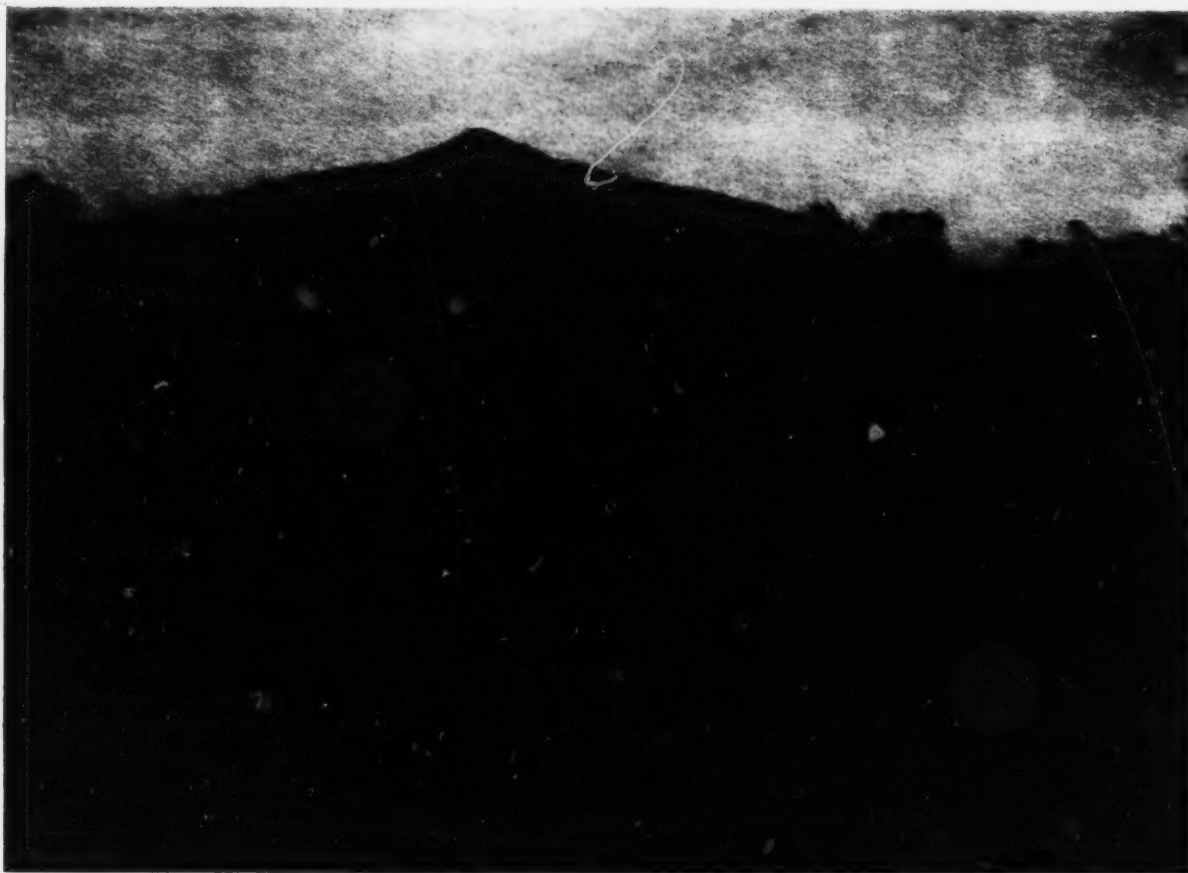
Lopez Portillo had to contend with hostility and fear when he entered office in 1976, since Mexico had just suffered an economic crisis and became heavily indebted to foreign banks. Mexico's entire economy changed during his administration, because of Mexico's newfound oil wealth. This was a time of economic growth, but Lopez Prtillo chose to address social problems by promoting the creation of jobs in private industry. Not much happened in the way of educational expansion during that time.

Miguel de la Madrid entered the picture recently in 1982. His finance/business background account for his hardline stance in regards to cutting government spending and raising the price of social services for the public. Although De la Madrid has won the favor of foreign investors, he has a lot to contend with at home: an astronomical foreign debt, a choking economy, labor unrest, middle class dissatisfaction, opposition parties' forceful resurgence, and a ravaged rural population.



The shifts in priorities which accompany each Presidential change are felt on all levels. Teachers reported to us the difficulties they often experience in having to change teaching methods, texts and paperwork procedures without adequate inservice training. Children, too, are caught up in the reversals in policy that take place every six years. International migrant children, in particular, may have to adjust not only to the changes which transpire in their own country, but also to the different cultural expectations they experience in going "North."

Chapter 4 takes a look at the states and the towns in both Mexico and the U.S. where the children in this study move to and from.



I remember that when I commented to a Mexican friend on the loveliness of Berkeley, she said: "Yes, it's very lovely, but I don't belong here. Even the birds speak English. How can I enjoy a flower if I don't know its right name, its English name, the name that has fused with its colors and petals, the name that's the same thing as the flower? If I say *bugambilia* to you, you think of the bougainvillea vines you've seen in your own village, with their purple, liturgical floweres, climbing around an ash tree or hanging from a wall in the afternoon sunlight. They're a part of your being, you culture. They're what you remember long after you've seemed to forget them. It's very lovely here, but it isn't mine.

octavio paz

Chapter 4

Contrasting Worlds

The States

Michoacán

This study took place in the state of Michoacán, Mexico. The central region of Michoacán is an agricultural area, although for most people this provides only a subsistent way of life. The area is dry and irrigation is utilized only where underground springs provide the necessary water. The main crops are corn and strawberries. The area is largely rural, thus, of those people employed, six out of ten work in either agriculture, cattle raising, forestry or fishing. However, for many people jobs are unobtainable and the only way to find employment is to migrate. Migration has been an historic necessity and an accepted, often prestigious way of life. The main destinations continue to be the Mexican states of Jalisco and Mexico, and the United States.

The larger towns of Michoacán reflect the colonial heritage of Mexico in both the architectural style and in the traditions of the people. Regional distinctions are often reflected in the dresses worn by women. To us, the most striking were the striped rebozos, embroidered blouses, and muslin aprons of the Purepecha Indians.

California

Migrants arriving in the central valley of California may notice similarities in the fields of corn, tomatoes, and other agricultural products, but no further resemblance to their homeland exists. California, one of the wealthiest states in the U.S., boasts beautiful cars, lush plantings, clean neighborhoods and various public conveniences. Migrants find that life here contrasts sharply to what is familiar to them. Moreover, the California which migrants experience revolves around an agricultural tradition that opens the doors to laborers when their work is needed and closes them when the work is finished.

The binational migrant's lifestyle is controlled by forces outside himself. He settles temporarily in the many smaller towns that dot the pathways of the migrant streams. He and his family live in farm labor housing which are camps located on the outskirts of town, surrounded by fencing, often placed near other special services (i.e. jails, juvenile halls, hospitals). They settle into a grueling routine of working from dawn to dusk earning whatever they can. Moreover, migrants remain as effectively isolated from the larger society in the U.S. as they are in their rural communities in Mexico; yet here they live as strangers without the

support of culture and language that they have in Mexico.

The Towns

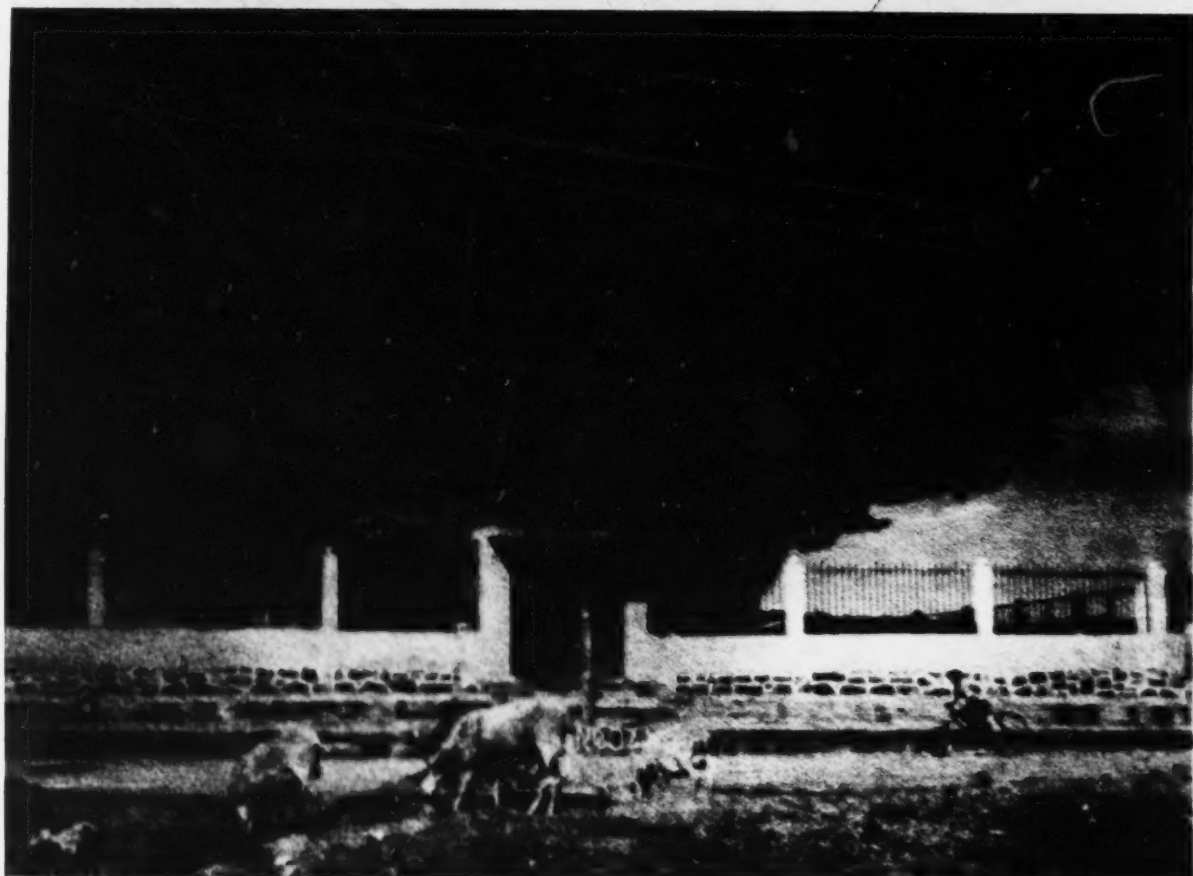
Villa Mendoza and Acuitzeramo

Villa Mendoza and Acuitzeramo are rural communities located about 60 kilometers from Zamora, one of Michoacán's larger cities. They are well off the paved highway and are typical of many such towns in Mexico. The roads are not in a condition to encourage much transportation to and from Purepero, the nearest commercial town. During the rainy season the roads are often impassible. People remain isolated; although migrants often own cars which free them from dependence on the bus that runs once a day. The lack of transportation gave rise to our being asked to provide rides or "rye-tes" as they called them, as we arrived at and departed from the towns.

Villa Mendoza is the smaller of the two towns with a population of approximately 1,000. It consists of only a few blocks: there are no central plazas, no movie theaters, no paved roads and no medical facilities. There are five stores, one church, a tortilla factory, and a three-room school.

Acuitzeramo, further down the road, is larger (pop. 2,000). Here the school has eight teachers serving 350 students. The town lobbied for a medical clinic which was built a year ago and recently staffed with one doctor. It provides emergency, primary and obstetrical care on a fee for service basis. Small shops, a church and the site for the TV junior high school face the small plaza where children, teen-agers and men congregate; the women generally stay in or near their own homes, visiting with friends on their stoops.

These are migrant towns. When we were there in January, the schools were filled, stores open, people about: when we returned in June houses were locked, stores closed and classrooms were less than half full. Only older men and little children were about. The economic patterns of such towns have been described in detail by other investigators (Cornelius, Reichert). The majority of the town's families depend on income earned by one or more members who work seasonally in the U.S. The families then return to Mexico where the cost of living is considerably lower than it is in the U.S., and their purchasing power allows them to significantly improve their social and economic position. Many families enjoy a standard of living equal to that of many middle-class Mexican urbanites. And, virtually all migrants exceed the standard of living of non-migrants in rural communities. It became evident to us which were the houses of the migrants: they were brightly painted, decorated with flowers and plants, and often had a late model car or truck parked in front with license plates from





California and Washington. As a matter of fact, our rented van was one of the few vehicles bearing plates from Michoacán!

New homes are built of brick and cement, have comfortable furnishings, running water, electricity, indoor plumbing, gas stoves, refrigerators and stereos. To a lesser extent, migrant families also have a washing machine and television. In contrast, non-migrants live in adobe houses with electricity, water and a gas stove, but lack other conveniences. All of the homes we were in were more spacious and comfortable than any of the migrant housing provided in the U.S.

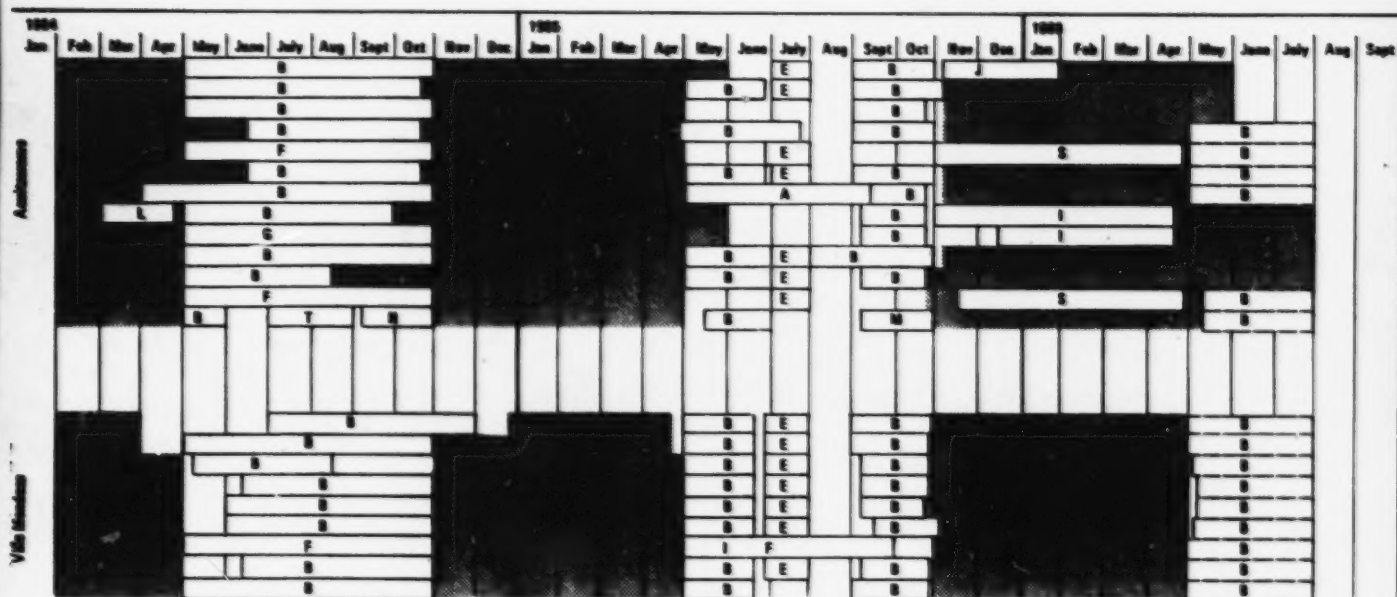
Construction costs for public projects are shared by the townspeople, and the state and federal governments. Committees are elected to make decisions on projects, to prioritize them, and to raise money (through the levying of fees, often on a sliding scale basis). The salary a binational migrant earns in the U.S. contributes heavily to the public-works improvements and educational facilities of his hometown.

The reinvestment of money into the home community also has had negative consequences. Since many migrants, by virtue of their higher U.S. salaries, have been able to pay high prices for available land, the prices have risen. In addition, the one store in Villa Mendoza owned by migrants charges more for its products than the other stores. People noted, however, that this store carried more variety and fresher produce than did the others.

These kinds of economic changes have resulted in social stratification within the town. The divided town houses two groups: the wealthier migrants and their poorer non-migrant counterparts, and thus social conflicts can result. Moreover, in order to maintain this higher status and standard of living, re-current migration must continue.

Probably the most striking and potentially disastrous aspect of the economic consequences is the effect on the children, who begin to internalize the belief that the key to prosperity and respect lies in U.S. wage labor. Their higher social status leads them to believe that the respect accorded them is based on personal characteristics, and not merely their money. Many children begin to adopt attitudes and behaviors which segregate them. Indeed, a majority of Mexican teachers interviewed responded that they observed a different social level between migrant and non-migrant students. They recognized the underlying economic necessity for migration but also clearly saw the changes this brought about in the children.

These teachers' observations support the fact that as children continue to migrate to the U.S. they gain new insights, values, and perspectives which they bring home each year. As a result, the contrast between the lifestyles of migrants and non-migrants is markedly different.



Enrollment in U.S. Schools

Enrollment in Mexico

Current Enrollment

State	Name	Key
CA	Jefferson Elem. Corvato	A
CA	French Can. Elem.	B
CA	Lathrop Elem. Lathrop	E
CA	Arcadia Child Care, French Camp	F
CA	Ruth Brown Elem. Corvato	I
CA	Falls J. Appleby Elem. Sylmar	J
CA	El Camino, Corvato	L
CA	Mather Child Care	G
WA	Vale Elem. Moxon	H
WA	Pediatric Elem. Pediatric	M
CA	Elmwood, Stockton	S
WA	Wenatchee, E. Wenatchee	T

Patterns of Migration

Chart 1

Migrants acquire American customs and become accustomed to the consumer goods and stylish clothes obtainable in the U.S. To them, their homeland represents leisure time, a place to return to in order to enjoy life, renew friendships, strengthen family ties and reinforce cultural identity—not a place to earn a good living. This attitude and the problems experienced in maintaining their educational continuity influence many children to leave school in favor of going North to work, even though some families are financially able and willing to pay to send their children to nearby towns to continue their education.

Migration Patterns Between Towns

Villa Mendoza and Acuitzeramo follow two main patterns of migration: 1) a flow to California staying from May through October and; 2) a flow to California staying May and June, moving to Washington for June and July, returning to California until the camps close in October. These patterns are strikingly evident in *Chart 1*, which shows the school enrollment pattern of 40 children from the towns of Villa Mendoza, Acuitzeramo and nearby Churintzio. Just as migration has become an established family tradition, travel routes and migratory destinations have been town traditions. In other words, the two sending towns investigated in this study have one, two or maybe three "sister cities" in the U.S. which are fixed destination points for the families each year. Thus, most migrants in the town of Villa Mendoza travel to French Camp, California each year. Acuitzeramo's migrant families also travel to French Camp, but some of them travel on to towns in Oregon and Washington. Clearly then, migration, at least for this population, is not a haphazard venture. Routes are planned and repeated yearly, and rather than traveling as single family units, entire town-networks journey together. This pattern provides continuity, of sorts; however, these children enter, on the average, three different school systems yearly; in California, Washington and Mexico. Each system is different in kind from the other. While they spend almost an equal number of days in each country (184 days in Mexico and 181 days in the U.S.) with an equal number of potential school days (142 days in the U.S. and 140 days in Mexico), many of the days are lost to learning. Moreover, the school days in the U.S. are divided between summer school (46) and regular school (96). Each change requires testing for placement, integration into an on-going program, new texts, new teachers and new friends, all of which can be stressful.

French Camp

Even though many of the families have been migrating for over a decade, the trip is fraught with stress each time it takes place. This journey is quite arduous and most families pointed out that they dread it. As they described it, travel involves four days of non-stop driving, and in most cases only the father drives. Only short breaks are taken for naps and food.



Even though most of their vehicles are large, space is limited because up to six or seven people may be traveling together. If the families have small children, they face the burden of dealing with diapers, vomiting and crankiness. The families who travel on to Oregon and Washington, after a short stay in California, face two to three days of additional driving.

Most of the families commented that the road conditions while driving in Mexico can be quite dangerous. They have to worry about inadequate roads and highway robberies. When they finally reach the U.S. border, they must contend with the immigration inspectors. Although they have legal access to the country, INS officers scrutinize and often hassle any person that looks Mexican. Families reported that they rehearse before they reach the border, because the children are sometimes pulled aside and asked questions. One migrant reported that he is very conscious of driving cautiously while in the U.S., because getting pulled over by a traffic officer could cause difficulties.

When the journey is over, and the families arrive at French Camp, they move into federal immigrant housing. The cost of housing is shared by the government, the growers and the workers. Since it is designated for seasonal workers, it opens May 1 and closes the 30th of October. The rent is approximately \$100 per month, includes utilities, and is well below that of apartments or houses in town. In the older camps, wood cabins are small, having a combined kitchen-dining-living room, bath and one or two bedrooms. The newer camp provides larger houses of up to four bedrooms. The summer heat requires that they have air-conditioning, otherwise the housing would be unbearable. Larger families may need two cabins.

The families themselves say that the conditions in this particular camp are decent. Upon arrival, a visitor may feel somewhat intimidated seeing the fence surrounding the camp and the office and gate at the entrance. Unfamiliar cars are questioned and a stranger must say who he/she is visiting. On the week-ends, police patrol the area. On the one hand, this seems restrictive, yet it does provide more protection for the families than other areas do. Laundry facilities are available and a grocery van passes through regularly.

A day care center at the camp provides free services to infants and pre-school migrant children (6 weeks to 7 years). The center is open from 5 a.m. to 5 p.m., thus giving parents the security of leaving their young children well-cared for (activities, food, diapers) while they work in the fields. This stands in sharp contrast to the situation many migrants still face- that of leaving their babies in the care of young brothers or sisters, or in the car while they work in the fields. The facilities serve about 150 children with a staff of five teachers, 20 aides, a nurse and a social worker.

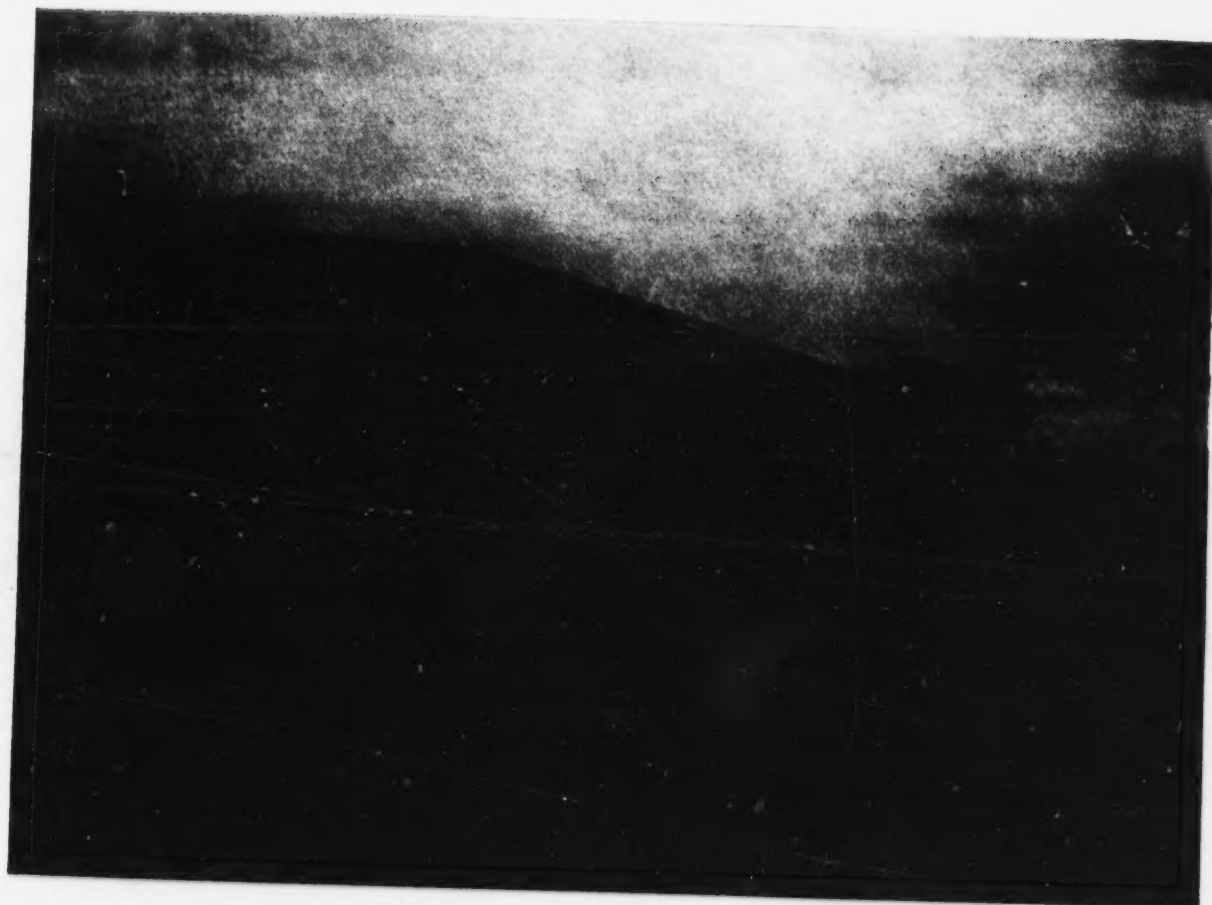


There is a friendly and familiar atmosphere at the camp due to the fact that these families are neighbors and relatives both here and in Mexico. It truly is a community.

There are more people desiring to live in the camp than can be accommodated, so the requirements for acceptance include not only specific documentation and yearly application but also a consideration of the past behavior of the applicant (i.e. drunkenness, boisterous, noisy behavior).

When the camp closes the families typically choose to return to Mexico even though the harvest often continues for another 10 to 15 days, since they would have nowhere to live during that time if they remained.

Just as the social structure of the countries is different, so too, is the educational framework: Chapter 5 analyzes the similarities and differences encountered in the classrooms of Mexico and the U.S.



Chapter 5

The Educational Frameworks

The return to Mexico signals a significant change in life-style, especially for the children, whose young world centers around school. Student life in a Mexican classroom is very different from life in a U.S. classroom. This chapter will focus on the following aspects of school life characteristic of the rural communities of Villa Mendoza and Acuitzeramo, as contrasted with French Camp Elementary School: a) gaining entry, b) educational organization, c) classroom environment, d) classroom procedures, e) evaluation of student progress.

Gaining Entry

The hierarchical nature of Mexico's educational system requires that permission be obtained from the "inspectores" (area superintendents) in order to observe classrooms and interview teachers. While, at first, this appeared somewhat intimidating and cumbersome, in the end, it proved efficient and provided more of a guarantee of teacher cooperation than that experienced in French Camp. The administrative style of the principals of Acuitzeramo and French Camp is remarkably similar yet, because of the difference in the underlying systemic "rules", we experienced contrasting levels of teacher participation. In Mexico, entrance to the site requires authorization from a higher level than the principal; in the U.S., the decision rests with the principal. Both principals were quite interested in giving their support to this study since both sites have a proportionately large population of International Migrant Children. Each principal was sensitive to the fact that the more the teachers volunteered to be a part of the study, the more likely we were to obtain useful information. Therefore, each presented his staff with our requests for interviews, alone and in his own manner. Teacher response was positive, so our plans for entrance were finalized.

It was here that the contrast in systems was most notable: entrance was initially "easier" (less formal) in French Camp, however, administrative support was not forthcoming for teacher release time, therefore, the interview-times were scheduled at the end of the day and teachers were asked to sign-up voluntarily. This reliance on teacher choice resulted in the first two days' schedules having no one signed-up: finally, the principal had to step in and utilize his authority, after all, to "encourage" teachers to sign-up. In Acuitzeramo, once the staff decided to cooperate, we were given access to classes, teachers, and students during the day. This process exemplifies the heavy reliance in Mexico on a more formal, external authority structure, which nonetheless ultimately allows for more internal flexibility. By

contrast, in the U.S. authority appears less externally controlled, but actually specific strict state regulations result in less flexibility for individual sites (i.e. requirements governing minimum class time, substitutes for certificated staff, use of classified aides, etc).

Educational Organization

The organization of the educational systems in Mexico and the U.S. share similarities and differences. The elements to be considered in this section include: a) academic calendar, b) daily schedules, c) educational objectives, d) proficiency requirements, and e) supervision.

Students attend school for a comparable number of days in Acuitzeramo and French Camp: the 184 days in Acuitzeramo are mandated by the Federal Government while the 180 days in French Camp are state mandated. The school year begins on September 2nd and goes until June 11 in French Camp; these dates may vary from district to district, depending on local school board decisions. In Mexico, all children begin school on September first and go until July first. This regularity was established to facilitate the organization of the curriculum, where each academic area of study is divided into eight units to correspond with one month of instruction.

Daily schedules allow for flexibility in both systems. French Camp is bound to a state mandate of 240 minutes of daily instruction, with students attending from 8:00 a.m. to 2:30 p.m., but the way the time is proportioned is a school decision subject to district approval. In Mexico, schools are often run on a double schedule, to accommodate the large number of students and fewer facilities. Villa Mendoza has a double session, with students attending from 8:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. and from 2:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. The three teachers in Villa Mendoza work both sessions in order to provide instruction to grades 1 - 6. Acuitzeramo only has one daily session, lasting from 8:30 to 1:30. In both countries teachers tend toward scheduling academic subjects in the morning when it is assumed that students are most alert. Individual class periods vary in length in Villa Mendoza and Acuitzeramo, although a typical day may follow this pattern:

8:30- 8:50	8:50- 9:50	9:50- 11:00	11:00- 11:30	11:30- 12:30	12:30- 1:20	1:20- 1:30
Reading- Spanish	P.E.	Spanish Grammar	Recess	Math	Social Science	Clean- Up

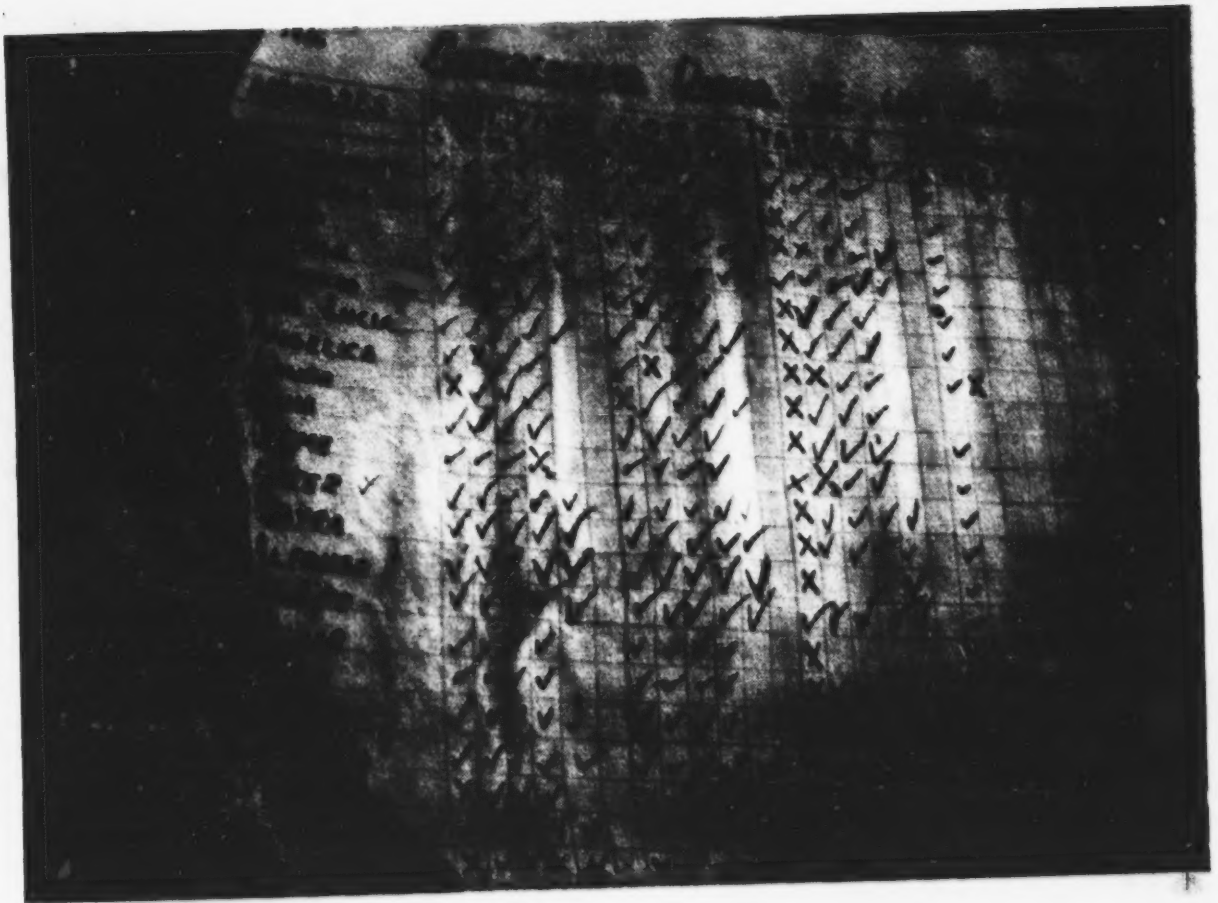
The bells and more rigid structure adhered to in French Camp give a more formal atmosphere to the site. With or without bells, however, children seem to know exactly the moment to put away texts and prepare to leave!

Educational objectives appear somewhat broader in the U.S. Teachers are concerned not only with the academic achievement of the students, but also their health and social development. Schools provide free lunch programs, health screenings and student counseling. Teachers in Mexico identified similar concerns but acknowledged the economic problems that prohibited schools from providing these additional services.

One teacher demonstrated her ability to combine several elements of good health practices, student preparedness and academic achievement into her daily routine with no additional expense. She utilized a chart with the following categories: punctuality and attendance, cleanliness, homework, behavior, and progress. When her students were successful in each category they received small prizes. The students in her class were noticeably neater, cleaner and more attentive than in other classes. For the most part, teachers' priorities focused on basic literacy, math, rights and duties of citizenship and preservation of cultural heritage. Teachers in Mexico expressed great concern at what they perceive to be a loss of cultural values as a result of binational migration. Most teachers commented that through American acculturation, Mexican cultural and civic values begin to disappear. Local customs are forgotten, and the children prefer the customs "over there", i.e., clothes, material goods, language. They feel that the language is changing, that many American words have permanently crept in: "sweder" (sweater), "lonche" (lunch), "hot dog". American teachers, it would appear, seem to be successful, then, in accomplishing what they expressed as an important goal: that of acculturating the students into "the way we do things here."

Besides the issue of acculturation (whether it be to gain or lose it), both educational systems are concerned with academic proficiency, and, as to be expected, go about enforcing this in different ways. There is currently a movement in California (and in the U.S.) to raise the minimum standards of student proficiencies, and to this end, California has mandated that students must pass minimum proficiency examinations in math, reading and language before graduating from high school. Manteca School District has established the practice of administering proficiency exams each year in May for grades K-8. In this manner, students become accustomed to and familiar with this kind of exam and are, hopefully, better prepared to pass the main tests given in the 3rd, 6th and 8th grades. It is possible for students to fail academically, yet pass the proficiency examinations and still be promoted. It occasionally happens that students are promoted for social rather than academic reasons; the most common being the over-age student.

In Mexico, promotion is dependent on achieving academic proficiency in all subjects. Students must receive a final grade of 6 or more (on a scale of 10), in each subject taken



during the year, to be promoted to the next grade. Students have the opportunity to take a proficiency exam, administered by the government, in an area they may have failed, prior to school commencing in the fall. If the exam is passed, the student advances; if not, the whole grade level must be repeated. Furthermore, in order to receive a 6th grade diploma (necessary for educational continuation) all students must pass rigorous, standardized exams in all subject areas.

California's concern with student proficiency is paralleled by that of teacher effectiveness. The requirements for teacher training are discussed by Miller in chapter 9. For now, the issue of teacher supervision is pertinent, and serves as another illustration of the basic difference in approach to educational organization in Mexico and the U.S. The centralized structure of Mexican education organizes schools in zones. Each school has a principal (or principal/teacher), whose primary responsibilities include generating funds, promoting public relations and enforcing teacher compliance with the mandated curriculum and paperwork. Each principal responds, in turn, to a zone inspector (roughly equivalent to an area superintendent), who further monitors curricular compliance. Teachers and administrators all belong to the same powerful union which negotiates salaries and benefits. Administrators perform tasks that are largely managerial in nature.

In the U.S., many of the tasks considered to be managerial, while ultimately remaining the responsibility of a principal, are actually performed by other clerical and/ or certificated personnel. There is a growing push for principals to be strong instructional leaders, which has been reflected in the new requirements for an administrative credential. To be an administrator in California now requires that a candidate be an experienced teacher (usually three years), has taken a two year program of study and has served an internship in an administrative setting. Teachers look to their site principal for leadership in the areas of effective teaching methodologies. Administrators belong to separate unions from teachers and have authority to hire, fire and transfer teachers as necessary.

The individual elements that constitute each educational system; the bureaucracy, the calendars, schedules, objectives, and leadership roles, all reflect aspects of values that form the essence of each society. They work together to produce an organized whole; a system that functions appropriately within its own contextual boundaries.



Classroom Environments

The class has wooden desks, walls in need of paint, a map of Michoacán and a map of North and South America on the wall. The only color comes from the attendance charts that the teacher has drawn, colored and posted. Student work is not displayed in this classroom, although it is in another. The atmosphere is an open one, with continuous, low conversation by the students, turning into restless chatter as recess draws near. The sun coming through the window warms the room and takes out the early morning chill and dampness.

Thus was recorded one of our first impressions in Acuitzeramo: the sparseness of the classrooms. The rooms contained wooden double desks with benches for the students and a desk or small table for the teacher. In most of the classes the walls are bare, although occasionally there are maps or other posters; the walls are painted in muted colors which, after a while, become merely a backdrop. There is electricity but no heating, so teachers and children remain bundled up to fight the cold. In contrast to the myriad of educational resources, books, games, materials, audiovisual equipment, and computers available to teachers in the U.S., the teachers we visited in Mexican rural schools work with the bare essentials. Any supplementary instructional materials are teacher-made or purchased. Their ability to provide additional resources, however, is clearly restricted by the low salaries they receive. Moreover, shopping can be difficult since the towns are so isolated; typically teachers catch rides or travel on buses, which makes carrying materials burdensome. Thus, the chalk board and verbal explanations become their primary teaching devices.

The starkness of the Mexican classroom must shock the international migrant children each time they return from French Camp, where classrooms are filled with materials, almost to distraction. In addition, state and federal funds provide special services such as bilingual, special, and migrant education. Lunch is provided at low or no cost.

Experiencing the basic economic differences between the educational systems affects the international migrant children even in small ways. Migrant and non-migrant children learn to make due with a lot less. For instance, children in Villa Mendoza learn to bring razor blades to school as part of the appropriate school equipment (since classrooms have no sharpeners), and it is not unusual to see a young child using a razor to sharpen a pencil unsupervised. Also, students in Mexico are encouraged by both teachers and parents to write as small as possible and to use both sides of the pages, while in the U.S., beginning writers are encouraged to print in large letters and to not use both sides of the page. The international migrant child must adapt to two contrasting environments, one of scarcity and one of

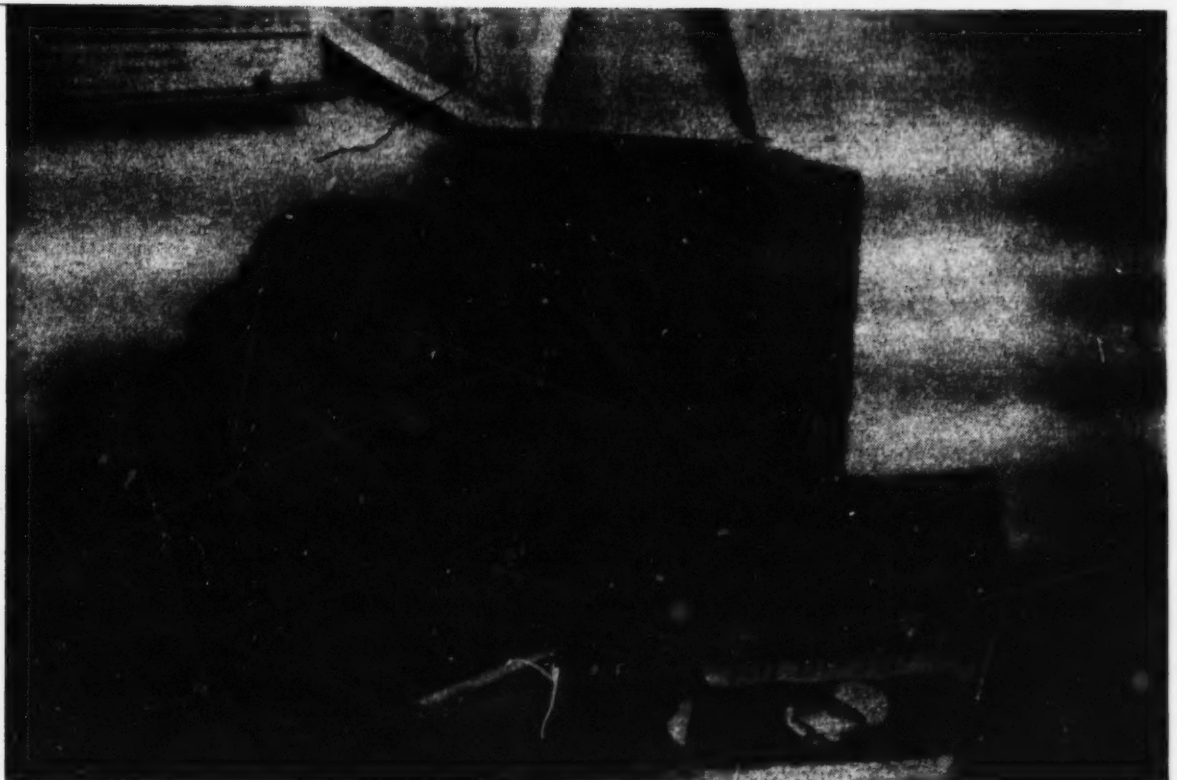
abundance. As a result, students are often set apart from their non-migrant classmates in Villa Mendoza and Acuitzeramo as they arrive from the U.S. bringing with them a variety of materials.

Adapting to differences in her/his environment is a skill that an international migrant child must adopt early on. Fortunately, class size is one element in the classroom which remains somewhat constant in both places. Although studies (Miller, Strom) reported elsewhere show that class sizes in Mexico tend to be large (41-46), rural schools seem to have smaller populations than those in urban areas, however. The class rosters for 1983-1985 for the elementary schools in Villa Mendoza, Churintzio, and Acuitzeramo showed a three year average well-below the government's recommendation of 50 students per class. The three year average of each class is shown below:

Grade	1	2	3	4	5	6 (1983-85)
Acuitzeramo	40	32	30	30	34	35
Villa Mendoza	29	27	22	25	28	26
Churintzio	29	38	31	31	28	25

The rosters reflect the official number of students enrolled, however, some migrant students who lack official certification are allowed to "audit" classes but do not appear on the official roles. While this may indicate that the classes, in fact, have more students than are registered, this would not be enough of a difference to significantly alter the class size. Migration, however, does significantly affect the attendance patterns. The decrease in class size each year seems to lower everyone's enthusiasm, and, attendance drops off. The classes we visited in June, for instance, (after the families had migrated) were left with one-half of their usual enrollment.

Regardless of how many students were there, seating arrangements typically had the boys on one side and the girls on the other. This serves as one illustration of the emphasis on traditional sex roles in rural sending towns. These are reinforced on a national level through the primary text books. A study by Heathcote comparing the sex stereotypes present in the 1960 and 1972 editions of the primers concluded that a) in both editions, more than 2/3 of all the characters were male, thus presenting a distorted view of reality, b) there was a shift from an overt to a more covert form of sexism in the 1972 primers and that c) even though there has been a general and consistent trend in Mexico toward egalitarianism among males and females, especially in the urban areas, this trend was not reflected in the more recently (1972) published primers. New texts have been published since Heathcote's original study was



carried out, and yet, according to a conversation with her, the 1980 edition still reflects sexual stereotypes.

This Mexican traditionalism is likely to clash with the prevailing American tendencies toward assertive egalitarianism of the sexes. Migrant children carrying traditional values may come to feel a lack of support, and actual pressure to change, while they are in the U.S. All of the young girls who were interviewed in their Mexican home-towns reported a desire to marry, have a family and continue to migrate binationally. They expressed their intention to wait until the age of 20-22 before settling into married life, and a few mentioned acquiring skills, such as hairdressing, with which to earn money, but none verbalized a desire to either have a "career" or to become "independent".

Children receive a free text book which becomes theirs to keep; all other necessary school materials must be purchased. It is quite permissible for notes to be written in the margins of the text, and for children to read ahead to upcoming lessons. Strom observes that, "Teachers do not anticipate student boredom, nor do they fear being ignored in class when introducing materials which some industrious children may already have read. In their view, it is good for boys and girls to experience ownership of books." This is often the only book that a student in these towns may have access to; the schools have no libraries and none of the teachers had supplementary readers. Books cost from \$1-3 which is relatively expensive when one considers that government workers earn less than \$100 a month (this includes teachers, social workers, etc.)

Classroom Procedures

Churintzio—May, 1986 I entered a pleasant fifth grade classroom where nine boys were seated together on one side and eleven girls on the other. Students share books and as the lesson (lectura espanola) is begun, the teacher writes the day the class began to study this particular objective on the board. The students have just completed reading the story of Don Quixote, silently, to themselves. After this, questions are assigned to the group; the teacher asked the questions orally and the students write the answers from the book. This is the teacher's sixth year at this school and the third year she has had this particular group of students. . . they are well-behaved and mind with little prompting. They also seem cleaner and neater in appearance than kids in other classes.

As the students search for the answers, the teacher helps those who appear to be having problems. Once the answers are written, the students then answer recall

questions orally. Students struggle with naming the characteristics of Sancho Panza. The teacher maintains a constant flow of instructions, restating the question, going over what she wants, helping them to know what to look for. Her tone is patient and calm. Finally, the students start to answer the questions, while the teacher remains standing by the group of boys, talking mainly to them.

I sit in the back and the students take every opportunity to turn around and look at me. They usually respond with a smile to one of mine-although the girls duck down quickly, shyly.

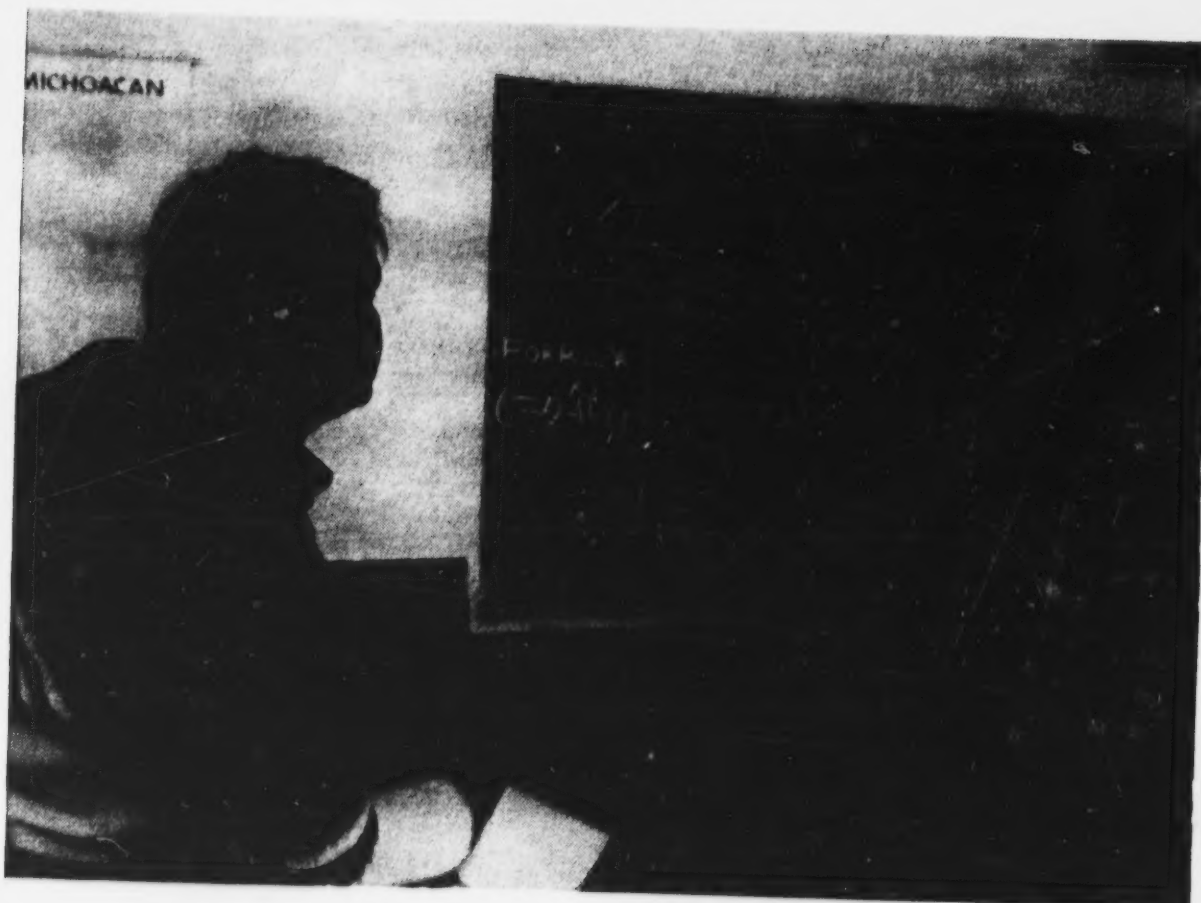
Students, however, do not really seem to be actively engaged in thinking. The restlessness of the boys seems to be a signal to move on to another activity. The activity was the re-reading outloud of the same story. One boy read a whole paragraph and upon finishing, the teacher said, "Well, you read it but we couldn't understand you since you had gum in your mouth." Whereupon, he had to remove the gum and be coaxed into re-reading the passage. The other students drifted off during this lengthy exchange, talking among themselves. The teacher repeated the directions with calmness until the students returned to the lesson and began to listen again. Eventually the noise from the oral recitation of the class next door grew so loud that I became distracted. It didn't seem to bother anyone in our class, however.

The class described above was taught by one of the better teachers that we observed during the study. She has taken child development courses, is finishing her 5th year in educational psychology (normal superior) and has attended courses throughout the year in special education. She is sensitive to her students' needs and appears concerned with their progress. She would fit the description given by another principal on the qualities of a good teacher;

A good teacher plans her/his class. She/he establishes trust with the children and has patience, is well prepared to handle children, knowing about psychology and teaching methods.

A good teacher is also interested in helping others and in the progress of the Mexican people. She/he needs to raise the level of cultural consciousness by instilling in the children a love for customs, the flag and nation. The teacher can awaken these feelings in a child.

Regardless of the range in skill levels observed, all teachers used similar methodology. That methodology, as reflected in the scenario above and as described by Strom and Miller, is one that relies on direct, didactic, whole class instruction. Standard procedure calls for the



teacher to present small segments of the material, whether new or for review, which are immediately practiced by the students. Next, individual students are checked for each one's understanding and are provided with immediate feedback. Then concepts are reexplained using additional information. When appropriate, (i.e. for math problems) students go to the board to demonstrate the process. Then the whole class works problems (or answers questions). Finally, several more work examples are assigned for everyone. It was often the case that, during the practice time, students informally helped one another, moving around the room at will to seek either teacher or peer assistance. This grouping was never a formalized procedure directed by the teacher. Usually the teacher would be seated at her/his desk, responding to each student as they came forward.

Students in Villa Mendoza and Acuitzeramo become accustomed to much direct instruction and close supervision of learning tasks, usually carried out with the whole class. There is freedom of movement and generally a buzz of conversation while students help each other or talk with the teacher. Therefore, when the international migrant moves back to the U.S., she/he may be faced with a classroom structure that differs from one class to the next. Students work in groups, in learning centers, on individualized projects. Supplementary materials abound. Students are expected to make independent choices as to how and what to study. They are encouraged to develop an independent, internal feedback system; that is, to learn to correct their own work, to know how they are doing without depending so heavily on teacher feedback. Needless to say, the skill a student develops in response to one system does not automatically transfer to another, and often, rather than meeting with an attitude of understanding, the student finds him/herself blamed for inappropriate behavior.

Evaluation of Student Progress

Por mucho tiempo en la Escuela Primaria la evaluación del aprendizaje se ha realizado de manera rutinaria, mecánica y vacía, sin la aplicación de técnicas y procedimientos que permitan recoger en forma confiable el grado de aprovechamiento de los alumnos; encontrando que es solo una inadecuada medición que se aplica solamente cuando le piden al maestro documentos a medio curso y fin de curso.

Tomando en consideración este delicado problema La Dirección de Educación Primaria en el Estado de Michoacán, El Departamento de Proyectos Académicos a través del Programa Elevar la Calidad de la Educación Primaria, elaboran el presente trabajo con el fin de producir un documento que norme los criterios que deberán observarse en el proceso de la evaluación en la Escuela Primaria.

(For a long time now, performance evaluation in elementary school has been carried out in a routine, mechanical and empty manner which fails to use reliable methods which measure student progress; it's merely an inadequate requirement asked of teachers in the middle and at the end of the term. In considering this delicate problem, the Ministry of Primary Education in the state of Michoacán, the Department of Academic Projects through the Project to Raise the Quality of Education, are formulating the present study in order to produce an analysis which outlines the criteria for observation in elementary school evaluation.)

In 1984, the State of Michoacán published the booklet entitled «Procedimientos de Evaluación en la Escuela Primaria» (Evaluation Process in Primary Schools), with the intent of standardizing grading procedures in all the schools. The standards for promotion are more rigid in Mexico than they are in the U.S. and it is deemed important that teachers understand and use similar criteria. Furthermore, teachers learn that educational evaluation should be: systematic, scientific, objective, flexible, integrated, participatory, timely and on-going.

Three types of evaluation are used in the primary school: initial, continuous, and final. At the beginning of each school year an initial evaluation is made to determine the academic skills possessed by individual students in every academic subject. Usually these tests are teacher made and are combined with the teacher's knowledge of the student's previous work. Since teachers often move on to the next grade with their class, this exploratory test is more a matter of finding out which skills the students have maintained.

Continuous evaluation provides students with individual feed-back as to their progress in each subject. This evaluation takes into consideration affective and psychomotor indicators as well as cognitive objectives. Bloom's taxonomy is the primary source for developing performance expectations. Psychomotor skills are emphasized in the first two grades and a specific set of maturation skills are identified that are designated as essential for success in reading. This continuous evaluation allows for remediation of any deficiency prior to the determination of final grades. A final evaluation determines whether or not a student is promoted to a higher grade. Teachers are instructed that this evaluation is a reflection of how well the student has integrated previous lessons and as such, final exams should not be the sole determining criteria. The results of all the previous methods of evaluation, both formal and informal, should be taken into consideration in the awarding of a final grade.

Standardized achievement tests are not administered in the elementary schools in Mexico. There are two forms of evaluation, however, that are given on a national level. One is a readiness test, developed by Filho (1972), that is administered upon entrance to the first

grade. The results of this test assigns children to specific classes in schools where there are enough children for more than one group. Children remain in the groups throughout their primary school years. Strom (1981) describes the intent of this readiness test, "... it is seen as an index of a child's maturity in the skills considered necessary for reading. More specifically, it measures auditory perception, articulation of phonemes and syllables, eye-hand coordination, recall of story details, and the ability to concentrate. This individually administered measure yields a raw score, representing the total of various subscores, which is then translated into a prediction about the students readiness to benefit from formal reading instruction in the fall, at midyear, or not until the end of grade 1. Mindful of the test results, teachers plan a program to match the maturity of their first graders."

Students in Mexico are guaranteed six years of primary education. Beyond that, a student must pass a nationally administered secondary entrance examination. Students take these exams in the spring of the sixth grade and their scores are important for gaining access to «la escuela secundaria» (grades 7-9) and for determining their ability group placement. The test is again administered in the fall for students who may have failed a particular subject area. Often a student's future career may rest entirely on the test results.

In the past, migrant students have had a particularly difficult time with these tests. Students who have received failing grades or who are not officially registered in the elementary school do not pass the sixth grade and are therefore, not eligible to continue their education. Efforts are currently underway in Morelia to address the special problems faced by migrant students to help alleviate the arbitrary curtailment of their schooling.

Grades are recorded numerically and are based on a student's mastery of the stated educational objectives. The following SEP chart shows the standard grading procedures.

Escala de calificaciones Grading Scale		
Logro de objetivo Attainment of objective	Notación Grade	Interpretación Meaning
No alcanzó el objetivo de aprendizaje Objective not mastered	5	No suficiente Failing
Alcanzó el objetivo Objective mastered	6	Suficiente Below Average
	7	Regular Average
	8	Bien Good
	9	Muy bien Very Good
	10	Excelente Excellent

The sequence of educational objectives are considered to be cumulative and, as such, a student must maintain passing grades in all the units in order to be promoted to the following grades. The first and second grades, however, have a slightly different set of criteria.

It should be noted that the academic year covers eight months of study and that each subject is divided into eight units to correspond to each month. Students receive final grades on each unit. Grades 1 and 2 are organized somewhat differently. Chart 1 below illustrates the standard grading procedures for grades 1 and 2 and Chart 2 for grades 3 through 6.

First and second grade units are divided into four areas:

Expresión (Expression), Socialización (Socialization), Destreza (Dexterity), and Conocimiento (Knowledge).

These areas are sequential and cumulative and a student doesn't advance to the next unit before achieving mastery (at least a 5) on the one currently under study. A student can receive a 5 and still be promoted, as the example shows.

CHART 1 GRADING PROCEDURE: GRADES 1 & 2 UNIDADES/UNITS							
1 E S D C 5 5 6 6	2 E S D C 6 6 6 7	3 E S D C 6 7 7 7	4 E S D C 6 6 6 7	5 E S D C 7 8 8 8	6 E S D C 6 8 8 7	7 E S D C 7 8 7 8	8 E S D C 8 8 8 8
5	6	7	6	8	7	8	8

Students study different subject areas in the upper elementary grades and receive a grade after each unit. A final grade average, of at least 6, in each subject, must be obtained before the student is promoted to the next grade. Students who fail in a particular area may be

offered the opportunity to take a re-test before school starts in the fall, and if they pass the test they are promoted.

CHART 2									
e Not Promoted \ Grades 3-6	UNIDAD PROGRAMATICA								ANUAL Final Grade Average
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
ESPAÑOL	6	6	5	6	6	7	5	6	5
MATEMATICAS	6	6	7	7	7	7	6	7	7
CIENCIAS NATURALES	7	7	7	8	7	8	7	7	7
CIENCIAS SOCIALES	8	8	7	8	8	9	8	8	8
EDUCACION ARTISTICA	8	8	9	9	8	9	8	9	9
EDUCACION FISICA	8	9	9	8	9	8	8	8	8
EDUCACION TECNOLOGICA	8	8	8	9	9	8	8	8	8

The schools in Acuitzeramo and Villa Mendoza do not maintain cumulative records on students. We were able to obtain past student records only through the Ministry of Education's office in Morelia where the final class lists, grades and attendance are sent at the end of the year.

Student evaluation in French Camp is both less rigid and more complex. Students receive quarterly report cards with grades for reading, math, language arts, spelling, handwriting, science, social science, art music, health and PE. Letter grades (A-excellent, B-above average, C-average, D-below average, F-failing, Inc-incomplete) are given to indicate both progress and effort in each of the subject areas. In addition, nine areas of citizenship (attendance, shows interest in activities, respects rights of others, accepts responsibilities, observes safety rules, listens attentively, uses time constructively, shows pride in work, and completes assignments) are measured in terms of excellent, satisfactory or unsatisfactory progress. Finally, it is expected that teachers also write pertinent comments. The report card is often also printed in Spanish and is sent home, to be returned with parent signatures.

Scores from standardized achievement tests and minimum proficiency tests, and enrollment in special programs become part of a student's educational file. Moreover, special health and educational records called the Migrant Student Record Transfer System (MSRTS) are kept on the migrant students. These MSRTS records are computerized and are utilized to transmit information on the students from one school district to another as they move. The MSRTS contains a section wherein particular math and/or reading skills (Skills Information System-SIS) that a student has either mastered or is currently studying may be recorded. The goal is to transmit useful student information to the receiving school to facilitate the transition for the migrant student. No wonder teachers lament that they are inundated with paperwork!

In the current absence of any useful evaluation report that a binational migrant child could carry between the educational systems, precious time is lost at both ends in trying to determine the appropriate student placement. Teachers in Villa Mendoza reported that no exams were given to returning migrant students; they were generally placed in classes based on teachers' previous knowledge of the student and on their mutual decision as to whether «el niño es o no es aplicado, es buen alumno o no lo es» (the student is diligent or not, is a good student or not). In French Camp, where 300 migrant students return at the same time, teachers used self-made tests to determine appropriate placement levels. In both towns, it was reported that international migrant students are generally placed in a grade lower than their age calls for.

Inappropriate grade level placement is, unfortunately, only one of the potentially damaging processes endured by international migrant children. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the marked structural and social differences between Mexican and American school systems prohibit any chances for a smooth transition from one country to the next. The dissimilarities in educational frameworks, organization, classroom environments and procedures, and evaluation systems take their toll in the long run: many children become overwhelmed and drop out. Parents also face difficulties in dealing with the binational educational maze, consequently another set of problems arises; this issue will be further explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 6

Fostering Parent Involvement: The Element of Caring

Parent's Role

In both Mexico and the U.S., parents have a role in relationship to the school. This role is viewed as a complementary and supportive one, requiring open communication, trust and respect. The actual goal, however, of parent involvement is manifested differently in each country. The most notable difference centers around the school financial structure. In Mexico, the local community bears a heavy responsibility for providing a contributing share of funds for school construction. The federal government provides textbooks, the land on which a school is built and one-third of the construction cost. It is expected that the neighborhood to be served and the state provide the remaining two-thirds of the cost of construction. In addition, landscaping, playground equipment, school maintenance, and furniture become local provisions generated by collaborative efforts between the parents' association and the principal. In Acuitzeramo a parent meeting is called at the beginning of each year and a fee to be paid by everyone is determined. In 1986, each family had to pay 1,000 pesos (\$2.00), which raised 110,000 pesos for the fund. An advisory committee establishes a priority list of maintenance or building projects and the parents either perform the work themselves or contract it out. If a family cannot afford the levied fee, it may be paid off through labor, while a family with more resources may be asked to donate more. Migrant families generally contribute a higher fee. It is the responsibility of the principal to work with the families to raise any additional funds through raffles, bake sales, etc. The students in Acuitzeramo contribute by selling snacks during recess to augment school funds.

In the U.S., the parent-school partnership is one that focuses more on the educational needs of the student rather than on the basic financial needs of the school site. It is assumed that parents will also perform a "teaching" role with their children; helping with homework, reinforcing the values promoted by teachers, and relating school activities to one's daily life. Binational migrant parents, by the very nature of these assumptions, are often unable to form a partnership with the U.S. school, whose language and values are different for them. In order to foster greater parent participation it becomes necessary to create a special culture of caring. Goodlad identifies this caring attitude as the key factor in effective schools. Without it, parents and students begin to feel unimportant and alienated. Schools in both Mexico and the U.S. are in a position to reach out to families, to identify needs and concerns that affect student performance (whether these be financial, affective, social, or educational), and to offer

a hand in forming a partnership that works for the benefit of the student. In attempting to learn how the schools in this study were taking responsibility for communicating with the parents, the 60 teachers interviewed were asked what they felt their role was in relation to parents, and what kind of relationship actually exists between parents and teachers.

Most teachers felt that the relationship between teacher and parent should be a complementary and supportive one, that communication between the two roles is essential, and that communication should be teacher initiated; Americans, in particular, felt it should also be purposeful in nature. Many teachers, unfortunately, expressed strong negative feelings about the current situation between parents and themselves. They believe that parents "have a lack of interest," "don't come to school" and "don't really encourage education." Teachers seemingly adhere to a belief that schools are responsible for initiating parent contact, yet blame the parents for any failure in the process.

Formal Interaction: French Camp

Teachers in French Camp utilize more formal methods of parent communication; sending notes home, making phone calls, holding conferences at school, writing comments on report cards. Most teachers reported having no personal contact with the parents and, in many cases, had never even met the parents. Generally, the teachers at French Camp Elementary live in neighboring communities and commute to work. They are anxious to return home to their own families at the end of the day. They expect migrant families to conform to the school schedule rather than adapting their approaches to the schedules and life-styles of the parents. Only one of the teachers interviewed reported making home-visits at the camp. The teachers' response seems to be singularly lacking in any understanding of the conditions of the migrant lifestyle that prohibit a more active participation in school activities. In French Camp, parents may well be intimidated by a system they don't understand, teachers who blame them for a lack of interest, a school that is more formal and a principal who, while interested and amiable, is more remote than is the custom in Mexico. Migrant education reponds to parent needs by providing supplementary support in the organization of migrant parent advisory groups, in the employment of staff to serve as bilingual liasons between the school and families and in the dissemination of information about available community resources. Parents are recruited to participate in staff hiring interviews, in district negotiations, in program evaluation and in the Camp Council committees; most parents, however, remain non-participants (Garza). Migrant parents do not have the luxury of free time while in the U.S. Their work schedules do not coincide with school hours, transportation is difficult, language forms a barrier, and their primary family obligation is to earn as much as

possible during the six months of available work to support their family for the year.

When parents do meet with teachers at French Camp it is usually due to some "problem"; many positive comments by teachers appear on report cards, but personal interaction centers around a negative condition. Parents expressed a sense of frustration and resignation about this. They would like to be responsive and helpful yet they don't know how to be.

Social Interaction: Villa Mendoza/Acuitzeramo

In Mexico, teachers have not only a professional, but a social relationship with the families. Children often have the same teacher for several years so there is greater continuity in communication with the family. This personal relationship provides more opportunities for satisfying encounters and results in more interaction between parents and teachers: as one teacher commented:

« - pues una relación amistosa a veces de parentesco que también en el mismo pueblo se tiene con los padres de los niños, porque como somos del mismo pueblo tenemos parentesco con ellos.» (Many times, relations with the parents of the kids are familial, because we are from the town and many of us are related.)

Of course, relationships in Mexico are not always as pleasant as the above description. Mexican teachers echo the complaints heard in the U.S. when they lament parents' lack of cooperation and/or interest. The problem, however, has different roots in Mexico. Many non-migrant parents in Villa Mendoza and Acuitzeramo lack any education, are living on a subsistent level and are barely managing to keep the threads of their life together. Teachers report that non-migrant students fall asleep in class due to lack of nutrition, have irregular attendance and drop out to search for employment. Some migrant students, while described as usually good students, also have irregular attendance which teachers were quick to attribute, once again, to the lack of parental support. We noticed, however, that occasionally classes were cancelled, without notice, when teachers needed to go to the district office, when a meeting of the union was called, or when teachers were unable to return to town following a week-end trip home. Life in these small communities is much less regulated than in French Camp, such that families and teachers accept the breaks in an organized daily schedule as a matter of routine.

The teachers' reproachful attitude toward the parents may stem from the fact that many of the teachers, contrary to expectation, did not feel a part of the town. Teachers in Mexico are assigned to towns during their first two years of teaching; many of these teachers are young (20-23 years), far from their own home-towns, experiencing their own sense of

loneliness and isolation. They often ask for transfers and regularly leave town on the weekends. They are also acutely aware that, even though they are professionals serving their country, a migrant family's income far exceeds theirs. These factors all play a part in the quality of communication and respect reached between parents and teachers in these sending towns.

One teacher from Churintzio, in describing her point of view, exemplifies, perhaps, an "ideal" interactive, caring attitude toward her students and their needs.

«Si veo un niño que no quiere trabajar casi me inquieta. Trato de hablar con el niño para ver que problema tiene en su casa. Algunas veces se tiene que buscar a los padres para tratar de encontrar la razón por la cual el niño no responde en la escuela. Cuando visito sus casas, en ocasiones me doy cuenta de los problemas que la familia tiene. Por ejemplo, tengo una niña que desde hace una semana no asiste a la escuela. Al principio no venía porque le dolía una muela pero ayer me enteré, que uno de sus hermanos se accidentó de un brazo y está internado en el hospital de Zamora, Michoacán. La mamá salió desde la semana pasada para Zamora y por esto la niña no ha venido a la escuela. Creo que estas situaciones problemáticas de la familia no son buenas, pero yo trato de no olvidarme que existen y por lo mismo procuro frecuentar lo más que puedo a las familias que tienen niños con problemas. A veces aprovecho cuando las mamás visitan la escuela a la hora de recreo o cuando recogen a sus hijos y les hago saber si sus hijos son buenos alumnos de sus cualidades para estimularlos.»

(It's unsettling. I often talk to the child to see what problems are happening at home and I sometimes have to go look for the parents to see why the child is not responding in school. When I'm in the home, I become aware of the difficulties the family is facing. For instance, I have a student who hasn't been to school in a week. She said she had a toothache, but I found out more about the situation yesterday. One of her brothers had an accident and he's in a hospital in Zamora and her mother went there a week ago and that's why the child hasn't been to school. These situations aren't good, but I don't forget them and I often try to interact with the parents of children facing problems; I also try and take advantage of the mothers' presence when they come to pick their kids up. When the kids are doing well, I let them know that in order to stimulate them further.) In such an interaction the teacher is carrying out her professional responsibilities toward her students and is also providing a secure environment that meets physical and emotional needs. In addition, she not only puts out a welcome mat, but she also

demonstrates her concern by making home visits. By so doing she takes the initiative in establishing communication with the families and smooths the path for more meaningful parent-teacher partnership.

This Chapter has shown that teachers in both countries anticipate parent involvement and, while the type of involvement may vary, the expectation is that it is based on mutual respect between parents and teachers. Teacher interviews, however, uncovered a negative, blaming attitude that would seem to be a barrier to the necessary open communication.

Teacher attitude not only affects the quality of parental involvement, it also, as Chapter 7 discusses, affects classroom practices.



Chapter 7

Teacher Attitudes and Classroom Practices

Cultural Values

Until now, the discussion has largely focused on the various ways the structure of the different social and educational systems affects the achievement of the international migrant child. This chapter examines the one factor that could potentially provide the greatest boost to student achievement: teacher attitude. Teachers have a mandate to transmit their society's cultural values, yet the teacher who is able to do this while still accepting and incorporating cultural differences into the classroom, not only demonstrates the significant element of "caring," but also maximizes the students' chances for success.

Values have a central role in education. McGroarty (1986) states that "educational structures are organized to allow students to learn the norms that embody prevailing social and cultural values," while Spindler (1982) points out that "we must study cultural transformation if we are to study education."

The profession of teaching shapes the beliefs of individuals. Studies by Lortie (1975) and Cuban (1984) illustrate how teachers' actual behavior stems from an interaction between both their personal and professional cultures. Teachers make pedagogical choices based on what they believe to be "common-sense" decisions yet even notions of common sense can be culture specific. (Geertz, 1983) McGroarty notes that "teachers routinely operate in an environment of multiple claims on their attention; their own cultural and occupational habits may sometimes determine the choices they make regarding which method of reading instruction to use, which student or students to select as leaders, which forms of feedback and evaluation to use with students and parents."

The way teachers treat children, therefore, often depends as much on what they think about them and the choices they make based on those beliefs, as it does on the students' capabilities. What teachers think about children is generally a combination of residual stereotypes, current societal beliefs and direct experience. In order to learn how the attitudes of the teachers in this study developed and remain, teachers in both countries were asked to talk about their professional problems and rewards, their experience with and preparation for migrant students, their identification of the educational problems experienced by migrant children and their ideas regarding positive and negative aspects of migration.



Professional Training, Problems and Rewards

Teachers in French Camp, Villa Mendoza and Acuitzeramo all stated that their primary reasons for choosing their careers were a love of children and a long-held desire to be a teacher. Mexican teachers also frequently gave the pressing need for money and the shorter preparation time as motivating factors. Most teachers reported having attended additional training beyond the minimum required in each country, yet very few reported having received any special training with regards to migrant students. In the U.S., that training was provided by either the Mini-Corps Teacher Training Program or by Migrant Education. Teacher experience varied: of the 55 teachers responding, 14 have been teaching for less than 5 years, 11 for 6-10 years, 14 for 11-15 years, and 16 for over 16 years. Several of the teachers at French Camp were former migrants; none of the Mexican teachers were. The Mexican teachers from more urban schools had less experience working with migrant students than did either the teachers from the rural Mexican towns or the receiving U.S. town. Teachers from the sending and receiving towns reported that half of their students were international migrant children about whom they had little knowledge once they left the local schools and community.

The teachers surprisingly agreed in their identification of the lack of parental support as their major concern. This issue is important and is examined in more detail in Chapter 6. Lack of educational resources, low pay and Mexico's economic situation were the next most frequently mentioned problems by the Mexican teachers. Their American counterparts cited paperwork and discipline problems as negative aspects they encounter. In reflecting on the professional aspects giving the most pleasure, the majority of teachers agree that student success is the most rewarding aspect of their career. Mexican teachers also generally enjoy the role of "mentor" to their students, are concerned with carrying out the role of teacher as defined by the SEP, and take pride in helping students become good citizens. American teachers enjoy seeing their students move toward independence, in thinking and in action, and excel in sports.

The following comments are typical of the Mexican teachers with whom we talked:

«Lo que me gusta más de mi trabajo es estar con los niños, ayudarlos en lo que pueda» (What I like about my job is being with the kids, helping them in whatever way I can).

«... es ver el logro, a la semana lo que están avanzando los niños lo que van logrando que ya aprendieron a tomar el lápiz que ya a los 15 días ya saben escribir

sílabas que a fin de año ya saben leer y escribir muy bien» (. . . to see the accomplishment, their progress, they learn how to hold a pencil one week, then in fifteen days they can write syllables and at the end of the year they know how to read and write well).

«Enseñar al niño porque el día de mañana tenga un futuro mejor» (teach the child why tomorrow will be a better day).

«El haber cumplido de acuerdo a mi capacidad lo que el SEP nos ha encomendado» (to accomplish what the SEP has outlined for us).

«El lograr que los alumnos lleguen a ser buenos ciudadanos y logren una profesión para bien de ellos, de su familia y de la Pátria» (to achieve that the students become good citizens, attain a career that serves them, their family and the country well).

The teachers in the study, then, are eager to work with children, are in their chosen profession, and strive to fulfill the educational expectations of each country. Mexican teachers are faced with severely limited resources and teachers in both countries have large numbers of migrant students about whom they have little knowledge.

Teacher Perspectives on Student Behavior

The magical moment when students learn to read and write is a moment that remains forever special to teachers and is one whose essence good teachers try to recreate throughout the long years that students remain in school.

For the migrant student, the magic often quickly disappears. Teachers, while perhaps not understanding the reasons why, comment on the changes they see occurring which serve to distinguish the bi-national migrant student from the non-migrant in both societies. It is interesting to compare the responses of American vs Mexican teachers to the differences they note between non-migrants and the same group of bi-national migrant students during their residency in each country. Teachers describe migrant students' behavior in what they believe to be objective terms, yet their own feelings and cultural orientation inevitably shape their observations and interpretations. These attitudes, in turn, affect the manner in which teachers treat the children and may contribute to the many obstacles faced by international migrant students. **Chart 1** summarizes teacher responses regarding characteristics of migrant students.

Chart 1 Teacher Responses As Expressions of Cultural Values		
	Mexico	United States
<i>Social Interaction</i>	• Feel superior to non-migrants • More sociable among themselves • Loss of culture, values	• Hesitant to mix with Anglos • Only play with each other • Never fully integrate • Talkative, sometimes disruptive
<i>Academic Achievement</i>	• Behind in school • Don't want to study • Community doesn't support education	• Far behind other students • Like sports • Older they are, the more behind they get. • Academic achievement depends on parent attitude
<i>Language Usage</i>	• Use English to show off • Spanish has become "Anglicized" • Difficulty in native language • Hearing English causes other students to want to migrate.	• Use Spanish among themselves • Pretend they don't know English • Failing in English proficiency • Should only speak English
<i>Attendance</i>	• Good attendance (Acuitzeramo) • Poor attendance (Villa Mendoza) because parents don't force them to come to school.	• Excellent attendance because school provides baby-sitting function.
<i>Economic Status</i>	• Migrants cooperate the most in community projects • Well nourished, better able to learn. • Have more material goods, better clothes, cars. • Consumerism leads to loss of traditional values.	• Stigmatized—looked down upon because they live in the camp. • Parents work and leave them alone—latch key children.

A careful look at the chart reveals that the teachers' responses reinforce the emerging picture of the social reality of the international migrant child. In this picture the student experiences a dramatic shift in status between the U.S. and Mexico: from a higher, more enviable position in Mexico, to a lower, unenviable one in the U.S.

Social Status and Health

In Mexico, teachers reported that migrant family members enjoy a higher social status, participate more in community affairs and have greater opportunity for socialization; the children use both their knowledge of English and their greater material possessions to gain status among their peers. Their dress and better health set them apart from their classmates.

Mexican text books include health education as part of the curriculum which all children study. Teachers from Mexico reported that the migrant students come to school well-fed, and that the parents are able to take their children to the larger towns to receive medical



services unavailable in their local community. The willingness of migrant families to seek medical care as needed stands as another sign of their higher status in contrast to their non-migrant covillagers. In the area of health and nutrition, then, teachers in Mexico have positive regard for the way in which migrant parents provide for their children.

This contrasts sharply with the attitude in the U.S., where, because migrant families have less wealth and social status, it is believed they are less likely to provide for their children. Wearing the same clothes and eating in the same manner, migrant children in the U.S. are often believed by health officials and teachers to be poor, to not be well-cared for, to follow poor health practices and to be in need of health education. A study by Graham (1986) disproves these beliefs. She analyzed the outcomes of physical exams for 531 migrant students in northern California, and identified dental caries as the major health problem, not malnutrition or other health problems resulting from the assumed parental neglect. Dental caries result from the abundance of sugary food available in the U.S. and remain untreated due to the high cost of medical/dental care in the U.S. The Migrant Student Transfer Health Records, in fact, show few other medical problems for the children in Villa Mendoza and Acuitzeramo.

Social Interaction

The social interaction of the international migrant child differs in each country. The student whose Mexican teacher describes as being healthy, nourished, sociable, enters French Camp hesitantly, seeking support from fellow bi-national companions. U.S. teachers interpret this behavior as "bunching up," "only playing with each other," and "an unwillingness to play with the Anglos." The migrant student never fully reaches integration with her/his Anglo-classmate. Some U.S. teachers report that migrant students are better behaved and more respectful while others agree with the teacher who claims, "they're more aggressive, harder to discipline: sometimes I have to raise my voice, even grab an arm and say 'this is what we are going to do!' It's not that they are bad, it's just that they want to talk when they want to. They don't fit into the routine."

There seem to be fewer routines in which to fit into in Mexico. Students are given more latitude in behavior, more freedom to talk and move around and, in turn, seem to respond to the unspoken trust placed in them by their teachers. On at least two occasions while we were interviewing teachers, the whole school was outside, unsupervised, at recess. Teachers were "busy" and students were expected to carry on alone. The close social interaction and cooperation that characterizes the Mexican classroom was carried out to the playground.

These teachers did not spontaneously raise the issue of discipline, as did their U.S. counterparts, and when pressed to list inappropriate student behavior, found it difficult to do so.

Language Skills

An area where U.S. and Mexican teacher observations were similar but where their reactions varied is language usage. Teachers reported that the majority of bi-national migrant children face difficulties in both English and Spanish in reading and writing, and, in English, in oral competency. Migrant children run into language barriers on both sides of the border. The teachers in French Camp who work with migrant children are bi-lingual, yet many feel a real need to strongly encourage primarily English-as-a-Second-Language usage among their students. Some students receive ESL classes as needed, but most find themselves placed in classes conducted in English. French Camp does not have a formal bi-lingual program where classes are taught in the language appropriate for the student. Most teachers are willing, especially with younger students, to clarify lessons and provide help, when necessary, in Spanish; other teachers believe that students use their native language to get away with things, "pretending that they don't understand."

Classes at French Camp do have bi-lingual aides who work with students with non-or limited English proficiency. Skill in Spanish is not re-inforced or maintained for the international migrant children in French Camp, although teachers did concede that, "students need to understand Spanish grammar before transferring to English," and "there should be bi-lingual classes all year." In contrast, teachers in Acuitzeramo and Villa Mendoza are not bilingual and are unable to provide any maintenance help in English. Teachers accept, with equanimity, migrant children's usage of English among themselves; also, in the "secundaria" students are encouraged to assist the teacher in the English class. There is an ambiguity, however, in the wide recognition of the need for and usefulness of knowing English and the equally broad feeling of sadness and resentment at the encroachment of American habits, language and values. From these interviews it appears that teachers in both countries have firm, yet contrasting, notions about appropriate student behavior and persistently uphold their standards, without understanding how it may confuse students and hinder their success.

Teacher Perspective on the Advantages and Disadvantages of a Migrant Lifestyle

The teachers unanimously identified the cause of migration as an economic necessity, a way of life almost forced upon the parents. Even so, an attitude emerged, especially among U.S. teachers, that was largely negative regarding this lifestyle. Their attitude held little

understanding of or empathy for the real conditions under which the families function. Teachers were asked to list what they consider to be advantages and disadvantages to a life of bi-national migration. Teachers' responses were not generally based on personal experience; they were formulated on the basis of previous teaching experience with migrant students, cultural identification and, oftentimes, stereotyped and ethnocentric interpretations. Teachers from French Camp tended to regard the act of migration as an annual trip, with vacation overtones. Typical comments on the advantages of migration were, "worldliness, new experiences, travel, make new friends, get to see a lot." Another "tourist mentality" response is reflected in, "see different culture groups, see how other people overcome segregation, exposure to different language." One teacher, however, more realistically expressed what others seemed to hint at, that, "its difficult to think of any advantage." The main disadvantage reported by the teachers was the disruption of the students' education. U.S. teachers also focused on the resultant "lack of family support," and "segregated living conditions in the camp." These statements do have elements of truth but they also perpetuate stereotypic beliefs that migrant children are left alone to bring themselves up. Teachers with this view are more likely to transmit these negative feelings to the student, whether it be in the form of outright rejection, discrimination, or the more subtle push to get an education so "you don't have to live like that." The U.S. teachers recognize that migrant children who do well are the exceptional ones, the ones who have been able to overcome "their transitory life, their social inferiority, their interrupted education and their separation from family."

Mexican teachers were quick to classify the advantages in practical, economic terms; "better dress, lifestyle, money and nutrition." However, their sentiments matched other community members in the belief that migrants' money is easily earned "and that life in the U.S., for the migrant, is a "fun adventure."

The teachers in Acuitzeramo and Villa Mendoza were less broad in their descriptions of the disadvantages of migration. They don't know about the conditions of life experienced by the families in the U.S. and so the majority identify the disadvantages principally in terms of the disruption of education and the loss of cultural identification.

These interviews, then, show that migrant children who travel between French Camp, California and Acuitzeramo and Villa Mendoza, Michoacán, are largely being taught by teachers whose attitudes and expectations often conflict and are based on cultural patterns that dictate different student behavior within each country. Furthermore, teachers receive very little formal training regarding these different expectations and as they "see" the results of migration, both educationally and socially, they begin to form their own opinions about the



significance of the resultant student and family behavior. Eventually, they begin to treat the students the way they have learned to "see" them, and to come to accept the "inevitable" failure of migrant students. Very few teachers seek to examine the systems that help to produce this failure and fewer still call for changes to occur *within* the system to accommodate the pressing needs of bi-national migrant students.

Chapter 8 examines the records of these migrant students and shows how teacher attitude becomes "cemented" in student report cards to such an extent that the reports become more a forum for the reflection of teacher values than an actual reflection of student performance or achievement.

Chapter 8

Downward Spirals

Teacher Communication

This chapter illustrates how the attitudes and values of the U.S. teachers go beyond merely shaping the classroom environment: these cultural values become embedded in students' permanent records in the form of teacher comments. In the case of the bi-national migrant students traveling between Michoacán and California, the consequences of conflicts between the cultural norms of the migrants and the expectations of the U.S. educational system often result in educational failure for these students.

The reporting of student achievement in the U.S. is complex. It can, and does, include a variety of aspects, ranging from academic progress to school citizenship, from student attitudes and feelings about self, peers and school to family and home relationships. These aspects are typically reported in the form of grades or of comments. Teachers strive to be "objective", using test data, psychological reports, or their own student observations as the basis for their judgments. After interviewing teachers and discovering that their knowledge of bi-national migrant students was informal and largely subjective, a curiosity arose as to how student success might be affected by these attitudes. Student records from French Camp were utilized to understand and show how the transmission of cultural values shapes the process and product of student achievement.

Teachers in the U.S. are accustomed to writing pertinent comments on student report cards. These comments are the accepted means of "conversation" between the teachers and parents. Teachers confirm that direct communication usually occurs only when a problem exists or parents attend the formal open houses or parent-teacher conferences held at the school. As discussed in Chapter 6, this manner of communication is quite different from that experienced by parents in the Mexican sending towns. Mexican teachers come to rely on a more personal, less formal, communication pattern with parents. Theirs tends to be a spoken communication rather than a written one.

In the effort to "hear" U.S. teacher dialog (directed toward both parents and other teachers) regarding bi-national student achievement, 33 U.S. records of children from Villa Mendoza and Acuitzeramo were analyzed. All comments from the past five years were studied and grouped into three main areas: academic progress, home relationships, and student attitudes toward self and others. Teacher comments clearly reflect the values they hold dear and

match those identified during interviews. The first part of this chapter illustrates these three main areas with examples of the teachers' written comments. The second part provides a case study to show how teacher values have influenced their response to, their expectations of and their eventual evaluation of students who exhibit a different cultural orientation.

Teacher Comments

Academic Progress

The area of academic progress received the most teacher comments on student records. This area encompassed the sub-categories of: effort/motivation, classroom behavior, study habits, general learning ability and competency in math and reading.

Teachers write to the parents that "_____ needs to apply himself more. He wastes time and almost never completes his homework", "_____ always seems tired, he needs to put more effort into his work", "_____ could be a good student but doesn't show interest in her school work", "_____ needs to learn to apply herself more, she talks too much", and "_____ could be a good student but doesn't show interest in her school work."

The behaviors that spell success to these teachers can be gleaned from these comments: "_____ is giving me a lot of trouble, he talks too much, he plays in class, he doesn't have determination", "_____ did a beautiful independent dinosaur project", "Has been a pleasure having _____ in my class, she has a good disposition and works hard", "_____ is very quiet and studious, am happy to have her in class", "_____ is quiet and serious", "_____ is an excellent student. I just hope she doesn't join up with this particular group of students who may distract her."

Teachers, then, note the lack of interest in school and low motivation of many students, and admonish the students to "try harder." How can a student try harder at a game whose rules she/he hasn't memorized? These children have received teacher approval in Mexico for help-giving types of behavior (spontaneous groupings, peer tutoring, discussions) are used to receiving help and accepting authority from a wide network of sources (older siblings, peers, teachers) and are accustomed to an interactional pattern with a teacher wherein the child tries to please the teacher and receives praise when successful.

The traits that teachers seek from students in French Camp for both classroom behavior and study habits are revealed by their comments to be: studying alone, working independently, learning to be self-motivated, being quiet and being determinedly serious.

It should come as no surprise that students whose primary language is Spanish may have more difficulties with reading and language skills in English than they do in math. The

children frequently told us that math was "easier", the teachers reported this to us during the interviews and their comments provide additional confirmation: "_____ enjoys math but has a difficult time with reading", "_____ needs to practice reading English", "_____ is behind grade level, math and English writing have to be improved", "has problem with writing skills--needs to improve the quality of writing...we suggest that he practice a lot", and "_____ enjoys school, math is her favorite subject. Still weak in reading English."

The teachers' prescription for student improvement focuses on increasing the amount of homework. Teachers write that: "_____ would have a hard time passing this year. Homework was sent everyday for two months but she received little help with it." By encouraging students to practice extra reading at home, teachers are assuming a cultural norm of the availability of books. Heath (1986) in a study of the sociocultural contexts of language development among cultures, notes that, *In Mexico, publishing companies and commercial establishments have not promoted children's literature as a literary genre...the extensive commercial promotion of children's literature found in the U.S. and some European nations does not exist in Mexico. Thus, the absence of books for children in the homes of most Mexicans should not be regarded as an indication of neglect of children's preparation for school by individual families.*

These comments show that teachers in French Camp respond positively to students who manifest individual effort, encourage student behavior that is conforming, quiet, attentive and industrious, and advocate greater achievement through students working harder, and practicing math, language arts and English at home. These are qualities that are culturally bound and which may clash with those promoted in the sending towns from which the bi-national student comes.

Home Relations

Parental involvement is considered to be a basic U.S. educational value. This value is not very evident at French Camp. Many teachers write comments (usually on the records that other staff, rather than parents, review) that present a harsh interpretation of the fact that migrant parents seldom come to the school site. In many cases, however, the teachers have had little or no contact with the parents, about whom they write these comments: "Parents never come to talk to me", "Parents interested but unable to come in for a conference", "Parents reluctant to have daughter repeat first grade--never come to see me or discuss daughter's progress", "I don't know the parents", "She needs someone to counsel her--she frequently has verbal confrontations with friends--her parents support this kind of behavior", and "The parents don't seem to care what goes on at school."

The success that may result from personal communication is conveyed by this teacher's enthusiasm, "_____ 's mother is very cooperative and I received very positive results after a parent/teacher conference. She came to pick her daughter up one day and was talked into staying for a conference."

Once again it should be emphasized that these teacher comments are not based on personal interaction with the parents. They are derived from teacher expectations and interpretations of what a "good" (i.e., non-migrant, more acculturated, middle-class) parent "should" do. Over and over again, bi-national migrant parents, whose life consists of working long hours in searing hot fields, who, themselves, may only have three to six years of primary education from Mexico, whose language is Spanish and whose cultural orientation is Mexican, are held responsible for maintaining communication with the school system. Those teachers who do go the extra step, who make the effort to meet migrant parents, even if they have to make home visits, find that most parents are concerned about their children's progress, have warm family relationships and have a respect for teachers and the profession they are in.

Relationship with Self and Others

Children in school are not only members of an academic community but also a social one. Kagan (1986) notes that one major problem facing U.S. schools today is *"the failure to socialize students toward prosocial values and behaviors such as respect and care for others, and knowledge of when and how to cooperate and help."* Indeed, these skills seem to be in contrast to those most often commented on by teachers at French Camp. The student who has leadership qualities with many followers and friends, is competitive and is adept at sports is the favored one. Thus, we "hear" that, "_____ is very shy and has trouble making friends", "shy, quiet, but socialble with close friends", "she's not a leader, likes to play jump rope, but not other sports", "a very shy, quiet girl--often bullied by bigger children", "Is multi-handicapped, gets teased a lot but endures it quite well most of the time." "_____ has very good leadership in sports; he's very popular but can also be hard to get along with", and "he's a leader, he's bright and ambitious."

Students who don't fit in or who fail to measure up to the sociocultural standards set forth by a particular classroom environment can be expected to experience confusion, lack of self-confidence and loss of interest. Teachers make note of students' self-concept with comments such as: "_____ needs self-confidence toward his schoolwork", "_____ needs more interest in activites as well as in leadership", "Needs to gain more self-confidence regarding classroom participation" and "_____ is not sure of himself, depends on his brother."

It should come as no surprise, then, that the student identified as the most self-confident and adjusted is the one seen to be a leader, who is sociable, sports minded, hard-working: *"She's a leader, self-confident, bubbly, aggressive, outgoing and independent."* While many children fall into this category,¹ and more try to, other students are often left with the feelings expressed by Espinosa (1981):

"I can relate to the students when they tell me how they cannot participate in sports and also get teased about it. I can still remember when I was going through the same situation. At first, I used to hide from the P.E. teacher and stay in the classroom by myself. The captain of one team thought that I was not able to understand much English and said, 'We don't want her in our team, she's dumb and can't hit the ball.' I went home crying and I told my parents that I didn't want to go back to school again. After I told my father what had happened, he gave me some encouragement. He said, 'Tell one of those students who call you dumb to come and race you in the fields. Give them a hoe and tell them to clean the plants, I bet you they will not even finish the first row.' At the time, I just thought it was funny. However, the problem was not solved, I still had to compete with other students whose experiences were not similar to mine. Later I realized that being good in sports was not everything. I was not inferior because I did not know how to play their sports."

Let's turn now to a case study to see how several of the factors previously discussed regarding teacher's cultural values and attitudes, classroom procedures, and binational migration have formed the reality of "Lupe's" life.

Lupe was born in Michoacán on May 1, 1976. She began first grade at age 6 in French Camp. She was there for only one grading period for which she received excellent grades, (S's in Spanish and PE, S+ in math, and E's in language arts, writing, ESL, music and art). Her teacher wrote to her parents that Lupe showed interest in and worked hard at her lessons and participated enthusiastically in all activities. Comments on the cumulative folder indicate that Lupe's parents were supportive and, again, that Lupe was a smart student—who took pride in her work, liked school and was well accepted by her peers. The family returned to Mexico for the remainder of the year, then migrated back to French Camp where Lupe entered elementary school. In 1983 she was again placed in first grade, where she received very good grades in all three evaluation periods. Her final grades were: S in PE and language; S+'s in math, ESL, music and arts; and E's in Spanish reading, handwriting, and spelling. It was noted that she was progressing at the first grade level in math but bordered on K-1 in reading. Her teacher commented about the need to improve in reading but later wrote that

she had learned to read and was an excellent student, who was good at sports, a quiet leader, a well rounded bright, friendly girl. She was promoted to second grade.

At the end of her second grade year Lupe was still doing her work enthusiastically, seldom needed to be reprimanded, and maintained her interest in outdoor games. (There was a comment that she could improve if she quit talking in class.) Her third quarter report card showed on A in spelling, B+'s in math, handwriting, art and music, B in PE, B-'s in reading and language arts. The MSRTS (Migrant Student Educational Transfer Record) showed that Lupe began to attend summer school following second grade, and has continued to do so every year.

Third grade was begun at French Camp, but her family left in October when the camp closed. From 8-27 to 10-31-84 Lupe attended school 94% of the time. She also attended third grade in Mexico where her records show that she was present for 157 of the 177 days of school and she received passing grades (7 7 7 7 8 8 8 7).

By May 3 she was back at French Camp and enrolled again in 3rd grade. Her U.S. records only give fourth quarter grades, which are considerably lower than those previously maintained. She had an A in PE, B's in handwriting and art, C+ in math, C in spelling, and D's in reading and language arts. The teacher wrote that she needed to apply herself more, that she had a better capacity than that reflected by her grades; however, she was given B's and A's for her "efforts." She failed the proficiency exam in language and minimally passed in reading and math. That year the teacher had no contact with the parents and, in spite of the downward slide in grades, only made note that Lupe participated enthusiastically in activities, and enjoyed school, her studies and friends.

Fourth grade followed the same pattern: Lupe attended summer school after third grade, enrolled in fourth grade, remained until the end of October when the family returned to Mexico. She attended school in Villa Mendoza, returning in May to French Camp. Lupe's final fourth grade report card was low: A- in spelling, C- in math and D's in reading and language arts. She failed both the reading and language proficiencies and remained the same (minimum proficiency) in math. Again, there was no parent/teacher contact during the year, and the teacher's only written comments were that Lupe was a hard working student who enjoyed school and was liked by others.

What's happened to Lupe? Why should a student who starts out well, who is bright, who is enthusiastic and enjoys school, who has supportive parents, end up failing by the fourth grade? It is clearly evident that the schools are failing the student. Lupe's teachers

show little alarm, they seem to expect and accept her downward spiral. They note her apparent "potential" but let it slip away. They anticipate her eventual failure and thus contribute to its occurrence. Lupe is one child, yet her story is representative of many of the approximately 30,000 bi-national migrant students in California. Students who will continue to migrate, who will continue to adhere to different cultural values, who will continue to experience two worlds. They are children with strengths, weaknesses, smiles, tears, security, doubts. They need to be offered an educational experience that meets their needs, one that might have to be different from the "usual." That can happen. Teachers can make a difference. Appendix 4 documents one recent success story. More can occur. They will occur when teachers learn more about their students, their backgrounds and modes of behavior, and begin to understand the contextual influences that operate between people and systems.

Previous chapters in this report have described differences in value orientation between Mexico and the U.S. regarding pertinent societal expectations, school expectations (in terms of organizational and instructional factors) and student qualities. Chapter 9 focuses on the curriculum by comparing the scope and sequence of reading and math skills taught in French Camp with those taught in Mexico.

Chapter 9

Reading and Math Skills: Mexico and the U.S.

The limits of my language mean the limits of my world.

—Wittgenstein

The purpose of this chapter is to compare the reading and math skills taught in the school at French Camp, California with those taught in the schools of Villa Mendoza and Acuitzeramo, México. In order to fully develop the reading comparison, the following are discussed: 1) the definition of the reading process, 2) teacher training, 3) the organization of the schools, 4) teacher expectations and teaching methods, 5) the rationale for the reading approach, and 6) the skills included in the reading program. Math education is also a dynamic process subject to: 1) teacher training, 2) teacher's attitude toward math, 3) research on math instruction methods, 4) texts and materials available, and 5) society's current perception of its needs.

The Reading Process

The reading process used by a teacher is not static. It is subject to the influences of research, the needs of the society and to the training given the teacher. In both Mexico and the United States, the reading process used today is designed to correct deficiencies that were found in past methods.

In the United States, there is no generally accepted definition of reading. (Palmer) This creates a situation where the authors of reading programs determine their definition and apply it to their programs.

For example, some researchers define reading as a hierarchy of skills in which the student starts at the bottom and works up through the skills ladder. These researchers see reading as word recognition, comprehension and application of the concept learned. Other authors define reading as the process where students acquire meaning of what was read and still others claim that there is no such distinguishable process as reading comprehension. (Miller, 1980)

However, most beginning reading programs in the United States emphasize the sub-skills approach to reading. The sub-skills important to beginning reading include visual

discrimination, auditory-visual integration. Parallel to this are the oral language development skills such as vocabulary, concepts, language structure and reasoning. (Ollila and Nurss, 1981) Even though the content and the order of presentation varies for all of the reading programs available, standardized tests, controlled vocabulary lists and formulas to determine the level of the materials provide a means of controlling the major programs; i.e. students who completed reading program A will, at the end of the year, have approximately the same skills as those students who completed program B.

The systems approach has become prevalent in beginning reading instruction. In this approach, the broad objectives are stated, the task to be accomplished is analyzed, the student is assessed to determine her/his mastery of the concept, the specific instructional objectives are stated, the instructional activities are presented and an evaluation is given to determine if the objectives have been reached. If so, the student goes to the next step; if not, they do remedial activities to the master skill. (Ollila and Nurss, 1981)

In Mexico, the situation is quite different. Mexican education is highly centralized with all plans and programs, textbooks, teacher training programs and curriculum materials being written and approved by the Ministry of Education (SEP). The government has decided that the official approach will be the «metodo global de analisis estructural.» This approach combines the sight word system, structural analysis and continuous association including speaking, writing and reading the same words. All material used by students are based on this approach. (Miller, 1985)

Before moving on to the next section, it would be prudent to consider the role of the language in reading instruction. It is generally believed that Spanish possesses one of the highest correlations between the spoken sound and the written symbol. Spanish has 29 letters and 24 spoken units as compared to 26 letters and 44 sounds for English. The implications of this regular grapheme-phoneme relationship are important because the greater the spoken-written correspondence, the easier it is to learn the language. (Lado, 1957) This may be the reason that relatively little time is devoted to the teaching of spelling and vocabulary in the Mexican schools.

Teacher Training

The teacher is the most important variable in the teaching of reading. Materials only assist and therefore it is important to examine the training of teachers in both countries. In California, the state certifies teacher training institutions and the curriculum varies from school to school. Mexico's SEP develops the curriculum, the materials and the standards so

that teacher training institutions are the same throughout the country. In California, a teacher must have 12 years of elementary and high school education and a four year degree from a college or university in a subject other than education. The candidate is then admitted into teacher training program which lasts one year. One-half of the year is devoted to teaching methods and courses dealing with the various aspects of education. The candidate then is placed in a student teaching situation for the second half of the year. Finally, the candidate must pass a test to receive certification as a teacher.

The requirements for Mexican teachers were changed in 1984. Since the first class has not graduated yet, the old requirements will be discussed. The program for the teachers in the Mexican schools used in this study are based on the old requirements. To enter the normal school, the candidate must have completed six years of primary education and three years of secondary school. The program for the first three years includes mathematics, Spanish, natural science, art, physical education, technological education, psychology, and philosophy. In the first year, the students also take two semesters of English and observe in a school for four hours per week. During the second year, the students practice teaching Spanish and mathematics for one day per week and each semester they practice for five days consecutively. In the third year, the students also take courses in audio-visual techniques and a short history of education. Once per week, the students practice teaching all of the other subjects minus Spanish and mathematics and they also practice for five days each semester. The students analyze the program and the books in the fourth year. They take courses in administration and legislation, extra-curricular activities, social and economic problems of Mexico, and development in the community. In addition to a one semester community service project, the students practice teach all of the subjects and are required to write an extensive report on the community work that was done. After passing the state examination, the individuals are certified as teachers. (Catalina Cordova Nova, 1978)

As part of the new changes, all teachers currently in the schools can attend the Universidad Pedagogica Nacional (UPN). Six degrees are offered in: 1) basic education, 2) adult education, 3) educational administration, 4) pedagogy, 5) school psychology, and 6) school sociology. (Miller, 1985) Some teachers in Villa Mendoza and Acuitzeramo are enrolled in these classes.

The Organization of the Schools

The teacher, the definition of the reading process, and environment where the instruction takes place all contribute to how reading is taught. This section will focus on the organization of the schools. In both countries, the students are in a self-contained classroom with one teacher. This teacher is responsible for teaching the entire curriculum; i.e., math, science, social science, reading, etc.

In California, the school districts are decentralized and each one plans its own curriculum, chooses from a list of several state adopted reading books, and has its own rules and procedures. This can be confusing because one city can have several school districts and changing streets can mean going into an entirely different school system

The French Camp school is one of ten elementary schools in the Manteca Unified School district. Each school in the district receives a sum of money from the State of California. This money is per student and is based on the attendance of the students. The school also receives special money from the State of California and from the Federal Government. This money is used to pay for bilingual teacher's aides and to buy computers and the materials needed for the computer lab. (Del Rossi, 1986) The school receives more money than most schools in California. There are 500 students enrolled in the school, and they attend from 8 a.m. until 2:30 p.m. each day. The migrant students are mostly in classes with bilingual teachers.

The local school board has mandated a curriculum which is used by teachers in grades one through six.

Mexico's situation is entirely different. All students receive free textbooks which are used throughout the country. The SEP approves all curriculum guides, all instructional techniques, and is in charge of teacher education, so that the materials are familiar to the teacher before she/he enters the classroom.

Primary school education is under the direction of the Secretaria de Educación Básica which has two divisions for primary education; primary education in Mexico City and primary education in the states. Each school is supervised by an inspector who makes sure that the official curriculum is being followed. (Miller, 1984)

Normally, schools are administered by a director who is responsible for dealing with parents, the central office and public relations. A certified teacher serves as secretary and handles the day to day operations. Since the two schools in this study are so small (120 students and 350 students), a full-time teacher also acts as director in each school.

The first session for both schools starts at 8:00 a.m. and lasts until 12:30 p.m. One of the schools is on double session and the second session starts at 2:00 p.m. and ends at 6:30 p.m. Some of the teachers work during both shifts.

Teacher Expectations and Teaching Methods

The goals and objectives listed in the curriculum guide are influenced by teacher expectations and the teaching methods employed by the teacher. If a teacher feels that a sub-skill is less important than another, then the teacher will spend less time on that skill. The same holds true for teaching methods. A method that employs large amounts of materials may be more cumbersome than a method which just employs the chalkboard, thus the students will spend more time doing administrative tasks.

In California, the school serves a social function as well as an academic one. Teachers spend time with poorly behaved students, they call parents, do multicultural education projects, deal with free lunch programs, handle learning vision programs, do things to involve parents in the school and supervise school activities. The teachers expect the students to develop socially as well as academically. Those students with physical or mental handicaps are not in the regular classroom.

Teachers see the reading classroom in terms of small groups. Student problems are diagnosed, they are grouped for instruction, the instruction is given and then the students are tested. Silent reading with good comprehension is the goal of the reading program. Small group instruction and individual work is designed to meet this goal.

The Mexican schools emphasize the academic. Respect for adults is important and students stand when the teacher or another adult enters the classroom. Mexican teachers are interested in whole group instruction. Most of the time, the teacher stands in front of the room and the students recite various things. The most common style of teaching in Mexico is one in which the teacher writes on the blackboard, one or two students do examples on the board and then the entire class repeats the exercise in their notebooks. Oral activities include the teacher asking questions, oral reading, recitation, story telling and singing. Students are asked to read individually, or in unison. (Miller, 1982)

Special education facilities are not available in the schools used in this study, so handicapped learners are in the same classes with everyone else.

The Rationale for the Reading Approach

The two Countries use quite different approaches to teach reading. The California approach is a sub-skill diagnostic model, whereas, the Mexican approach is a wholistic one.

The French Camp School uses the Ginn reading program. Students take a placement test when they enter the school and then are placed in the appropriate group according to level. Some classes may have five or six different groups. Reading instruction lasts approximately one hour per day and is skills based. The students work on a unit of material. When the unit is completed, a test is given. Those students who did not learn the skills presented work in the computer lab and they use the computers to master the skill. When the material is mastered, students use advanced materials on the topics. Stories, poems and other types of literature are centered on a theme such as honesty and courage.

The program in the Manteca School district is based on the assumption that if the students learn the skills of reading, then they will become good readers. Skills start with sight words and end with critical reading skills.

The Mexican schools use the «método global de análisis estructural.» A new integrated textbook was introduced in the 1980-81 school year. The following year, the same system was introduced in the second grade.

Under the new system, first graders receive a *libro recortable* (reading readiness book) and parts 1 and 2 of the first grade book, which are divided into eight corresponding to the months of the school year. Each unit contains four models for weekly use. Within each unit are materials for teaching reading, mathematics, natural science, social science, art, and health education. The themes of the units and modules start with the study of the individual and end with Mexico and its relationship to other countries.

The rationale for this new system is that learning will be facilitated if all concepts in the curriculum are integrated. Its authors feel that it is inter-disciplinary, is in tune with the global method, and has its roots in the teachings of Claparede, Decroly, and Piaget. According to the teacher's manual, students between 6 and 8 years old see the world from a global perspective; they have difficulty with perception and observation of details. A global approach makes it easier for students to handle the curriculum. In addition, the scientific method can be applied to the various disciplines. Finally, the program is justified because it teaches skills sequentially, reduces the time for learning, and reinforces the retention of important concepts. (Secretaria de Educación Pública, 1981)

In the new system for the first grade, the global method of teaching reading is divided into four parts, with the basic components taught in eight first grade units. Unit 1 consists of conversation. The teacher writes sight words on the board (colors, parts of the body, drinks, fruits, common animals). The students say, identify, and copy the words. Unit 2 uses the same elements, but now the students read the words. In units 3 to 6, students identify syllables, learn consonants and vowels, and learn to write the words. In units 7 and 8, students learn to write words as the teacher dictates. Evaluation is a continuing process through all of the units.

The second grade language arts program focuses on developing comprehension, eliminating confusion caused by certain letters, identifying letters, and learning difficult sound combinations. As with the old system, students are taught to print. Cursive writing is not a part of the curriculum. (Miller, 1985) *The Skills Found in the Reading Programs*

The skills listed on the following pages were taken from the "Scope and Sequence Chart" of the Manteca Unified School District and from the "Plans and Programs" book of the S.E.P. Each chart represents the material to be covered during the grade listed. To facilitate a comparison, the skills for French Camp have been categorized according to the Mexican model. Only reading skills were compared. The Manteca model also has objectives for spelling, but this is not part of the Mexican model. Writing skills—both grammar and mechanics— were not included either.

Reading Skills Scope and Sequence				
	Grade 1		Grade 2	
	French Camp	Mexico	French Camp	Mexico
<i>Readiness</i>	Not listed.	Straight lines, hand-eye coordination, perception, letters, sequence.	Not listed.	Visual discrimination, letter combinations.
<i>Oral Work</i>	Not listed.	Oral communication of impressions, experiences, recognition of rhyme in poems and stories, description of pictures, invented stories.	Not listed.	Family experiences, memorization of poems, conversation, punctuation when reading orally, dramatizations of readings, simple histories, choral poetry, paraphrasing.
<i>Phonics</i>	Initial and final consonants, blends, sh, uh, th and ch, long and short vowel sounds, ing, ed, s, contractions.	l, ll, y, t, o, c, e, a, g, d, h, r, rr, n, m, u, s, l, z, i, g, f, s, h, j, t, z, ch (letters are associated with a syllable).	c and g, blends, sh, uh, th, ch, modified vowel sounds, er, est, es, contractions, compound words.	z, s, c, gu, k, y, h, two syllable words, differentiation of vowels and consonants, /ll and /y/, /b/ and /v/, names of the letters, /g/ and /guel/.
<i>Vocabulary</i>	Levels 1-4 of Durr word list. Identify correct word for completing a sentence.	Colors: red, green, yellow, blue, black, white, parts of the face, parts of the body, drinks and fruits, animals.	Levels 5-8 of Durr word list. Identify correct words to fill in blanks in a story.	
<i>Comprehension</i>	Who? What? When? Where? Sequence of events. Inference by selecting appropriate picture.	Dialogues, memorization of brief selections, discussion of pictures, summarization of stories that were read orally.	Identify general topic. Determine sequence of a four event story, infer the main idea.	Inferences, cause, sentence, principal ideas.
<i>Study Skills</i>	Alphabetize words to first letter, table of contents.	Not listed.	Alphabetize to second letter. Table of contents.	Alphabetical order.

Reading Skills Scope and Sequence				
	Grade 3		Grade 4	
	French Camp	Mexico	French Camp	Mexico
Readiness	Not listed.	Observation and description, classification, sequence.	Not listed.	Visual perception.
Oral Work	Not listed.	Observation and description, story endings, fluent oral reading, errors in drawings, summarization of stories, correct intonation, experiences, reports, dramatics to perfect oral skills, recitation of popular legends, tone of syllables.	Not listed.	Enunciation, description of people, description of imaginary things, description of buildings with precision, technique of interview, explanation of what was read, discussion of gifts, recitation of poems, imaginary travels, creation of fantastic persons, narration of a story, rhyming.
Phonics	Consonant blends, sh, wh, th, ch, tch, oo, ew, oi, ou, oy, an, au, al. Prefixes, contractions, syllables in two and three syllable words.	m. after p and b uses or. r and rr, b and v, y and ll, c and q.	gh, ph, hr, gr, nt, ur, decode two vowels together, schwa sound, y, suffixes using double consonant rule, silent e rule, prefixes, roots.	Syllables, diphthongs, vowels and consonants, b and v, ll and y, n before v or l, /rr/ and /rl/, bir, /K/, bué, jero, jera.
Vocabulary	All words on Dunn list. Word meanings through context clues, recognize words and phrases.	Synonyms, space, time, morphemes, use rhyming words, learn hacer.	Context clues, antonyms and synonyms.	Synonyms, semantic categories, semantic concepts, morphemes, figurative language, syllables by tone.
Comprehension	Main idea and supporting details, sequence of events, cause and effect, infer time, place and atmosphere.	Story endings, main ideas in paragraphs, summaries, main characters, interpretation of proverbs, best title.	Main idea, sequence, cause and effect, infer logical answers to what and why questions, draw logical conclusions.	Complete stories, main character, main ideas in text, cause, central theme, secondary characters, temporary cause, effect, context clues.
Study Skills	Alphabetize to second and third letters. Use guide words in a dictionary.	Read instructions, location of dates in magazines, dictionary, newspapers, alphabetical order, sequence, encyclopedias.	Guide words, bar graphs, encyclopedias.	Parts of a book, diagrams, newspapers, magazines, dictionary, maps, logical relationships, bibliographies, logical operations.

Reading Skills Scope and Sequence				
	Grade 5		Grade 6	
	French Camp	Mexico	French Camp	Mexico
<i>Readiness</i>	Not listed.			
<i>Oral Work</i>	Not listed.	Read with clarity, oral reading and summation, discussions, fluency in oral reading, comment on news, tell about activities of the day, intonation, analysis of a discussion, master 5 aspects of oral reading, choral poetry	Not listed.	Audience reading, comment on the stories in the text, narratives, react to a story, comment on prose and verse, add music to poems, poetry, dialogues.
<i>Phonics</i>	Schwa, decode two vowel sounds, prefixes and suffixes, roots, multisyllable words.	B and V, que, gui, gue, diphthong, ha from a, j in aje, stressed syllables, s, z and c, /K/, /S/, s, z, oc, morphemes, z in azo, ezo, izo, r.	Prefixes and suffixes, syllables.	/h/, hay, has, as, X, ll.
<i>Vocabulary</i>	Context clues, synonyms, antonyms and homonyms.	Analogies.	Context clues, synonyms, antonyms and homonyms.	Homonyms, figurative language and scientific language, context clues, synonyms, metaphors.
<i>Comprehension</i>	Topic sentence, sequence, cause and effect, inference, draw conclusions, make predictions, fact and opinion, compare and contrast.	Increase comprehension, summaries, principal ideas, interpretation of readings, explanation of the contents of poems.	Main ideas in two paragraphs, sequence, cause and effect, conclusions, predictions, fact and opinion, compare and contrast.	Answer analogies, principal ideas, relationship between main idea and title, main ideas from the newspaper, main ideas in each paragraph, cause, questions on specific details, main ideas and supporting ideas, logically summarize what was read, interpret illustrations.
<i>Study Skills</i>	Maps and charts, card catalogue, encyclopedia and index.	Parts of books, dictionary, note taking, encyclopedia, newspapers, graphs, plans, thermometers and maps, logical relations.	Maps, card catalogues, encyclopedia, index.	Dictionary, plans, phone directory, maps, techniques of learning, organizing, and recording information.

Math Skills Continuum

As with the reading instruction process, the math instruction process is neither uniform nor static. It, too, is subject to many variables: the training given the teacher, the teacher's attitude towards mathematics, research on math instruction methods, texts and materials available, and the society's current perceptions of its needs. Mathematics education in California currently exemplifies this dynamic nature, as illustrated by the Mathematics Framework for California Public Schools, published in 1985. This document calls for a major overhaul of mathematics instruction methods and materials, and sets out guidelines for accomplishing that overhaul. While the approach advocated by the Framework has yet to be significantly implemented in schools throughout California, it does provide a clear vision of the future of mathematics instruction in California; therefore, the comparison of math instruction in Mexico and in California (as illustrated by the French Camp School example) presented in this chapter will be made with any eye to that future vision of math instruction.

The Scope of Mathematics; the Form of Mathematics Instruction

Mathematics provides a way of organizing and, therefore, understanding the world around us. "The study of mathematics helps students to develop thinking skills, order their thoughts, develop logical arguments, and make valid inferences." (Mathematics Framework, p. 1) These goals can be achieved through use of the full spectrum of mathematics instruction, which would include study of number (arithmetic), measurement, geometry, patterns and functions, statistics and probability (including graphing), logic, and algebra. Each of these strands of mathematics can be seen as one tool with which to develop understanding of the world around us; the more tools and approaches used (and the more those tools and approaches are used in concert with one another), the fuller and richer that understanding.

Rich and full understanding of mathematical concepts requires that those concepts not be used in isolation, but that they be learned and used "as part of a dynamic process, with active engagement on the part of the student." (Mathematics Framework, p. 12) This brings up a contrast between the teaching of rules and procedures, which is the traditional method of mathematics instruction in the United States, and teaching for understanding, which is emphasized in the new Mathematics Framework. For example, while a child may know all of the rules for addition and subtraction, if she/he doesn't have an understanding of the problem presented by the question, "how many more than", she/he doesn't have an understanding of why or when to add and subtract. This teaching for understanding requires an exploratory approach to mathematics, it requires new teacher behaviors and attitudes towards mathematics, and it requires new curriculum approaches: situational lessons, practice in problem

solving, use of concrete materials, individualized/flexible instruction, cooperative learning groups, adaptations in questioning and responding techniques, and development of mathematical language are some of the instructional approaches called for by the new Mathematics Framework. These are long-term goals for mathematics education in California, and by no means represent widespread instructional realities today. They are incorporated into this curriculum comparison for several reasons.

- to illustrate the dynamic nature of the education field and the path for California math education: where it has been, where it is now, and its direction for the future.
- to provide a document that will be of value to teachers for a more extended period of time than would be possible by providing a comparison based solely on current mathematics instruction standards.
- in order to give teachers a way of looking at mathematics learning which will better enable them to assess what learning took place for the child, as well as what teaching took place: what the child understands, as well as what mathematical rules and procedures she/he can follow.
- to provide a context for the use of grade level competencies as barometers of student performance.

Mexican Education System as it Pertains to Mathematics Instruction

The Mexican educational system includes no kindergarten or equivalent; children start their formal schooling at approximately age seven, which is only slightly older than entering first graders in the United States. Therefore, children entering Mexico's first grade have had a substantially more limited school experience of mathematics than have their American counterparts, who, in addition to having gone through kindergarten, may have experienced a pre-school or daycare setting that provided a variety of classroom mathematical experiences. It is important to realize, however, that real world experiences of mathematics, while less formal than mathematics experiences that occur in classrooms, nonetheless comprise an important component of mathematics learning; therefore, it may be that while Mexican children enter first grade without a list of competencies mastered, their experiential mathematics base may include many as yet unmeasured competencies.

First and second grades are taught with a global, holistic approach, integrating all subject areas, and there is no formal statement of the role or scope of math instruction in this integrative curriculum. This approach to education readily lends itself to the instructional methods that comprise teaching exploration of mathematics for understanding, and it appears that considerable exploration of mathematics is included in the Mexican model of integrative learning. Hands-on mathematics activities are interwoven with other content area learning in the study of the family and community; much emphasis is placed on life experiences that are

relevant to the learners. It is noteworthy that children who are exposed to this holistic approach, which lends itself more readily to teaching for understanding rather than to the teaching of rules and procedures, emerge from their first two years of school with mathematical "competencies" comparable to their American peers, who have had three years of schooling.

The integrative curriculum used in the first and second grades includes no formal mathematics program *per se*, while the third through sixth grades have a very tightly structured mathematics curriculum. As noted earlier in the chapter, curriculum and its implementation in Mexico is standardized throughout the country, providing a large measure of uniformity in the schooling of Mexican children. While this may have certain administrative and even pedagogical advantages, it appears to present definite limitations with regard to mathematics instruction. The ability of a centralized agency to plan the month-by-month learning for every child in the country implies a high degree of predictability inherent in that learning; such predictability may be more characteristic of the teaching of the rules and procedures of mathematics (i.e., the algorithms) than it is of teaching for understanding.

Again, "teaching for understanding" is comprised of a number of instructional methods that add up to the resulting understanding of concepts on the part of the learner; the use of many of these methods may be constrained by the imposition of a rigorously uniform curriculum. For instance, teaching for understanding is largely dependent on gearing instruction to the readiness--(developmental and skills-based readiness)--of the learners. Although the Mexican model of mathematics instruction does incorporate assessment of skills into its curriculum, it does not use that assessment as a basis for individualization of instruction. Individualization, it appears, occurs primarily in the form of remediation: teachers, siblings and peers spend extra time helping a student catch up to the class rather than enabling each learner to start each lesson at his or her own level of skill by using techniques to individualize the lessons.

The text materials used in Mexico clearly attempt to reflect the real life experiences of the students. The mathematics texts offer supplemental activities that encourage active student participation in the classroom and involvement in the community as a context for mathematics learning. However, the day-to-day instructional reality appears to be that most teachers, because of a lack of time and/or funds, do not make extensive use of these enrichment activities. In addition, while these activities may provide the situational context for learning, effective problem solving and other situational learning requires student and teacher behaviors which are, given the didactic nature of the observed classrooms in Mexico,

unfamiliar and, therefore, perhaps uncomfortable for the participants.

Education is guaranteed in Mexico through the sixth grade, which is, therefore, seen as an "exit grade." This is perhaps reflected in the competency expectations for grades three through six: it appears that although the sixth grade mathematics curriculum is largely review, exiting sixth graders have been taught skills and concepts typically not taught in the United States until eighth or ninth grade. While this may initially seem admirable, one must be sure to examine grade level competency lists with an eye to the developmental appropriateness of the listed skills and concepts for that age group; the terms "teach" and "learn" cannot be used interchangeably.

The Mexican mathematics curriculum addresses a large portion of the scope of mathematics: while the study of arithmetic is emphasized, it does not appear to be at the expense of geometry, logical thinking, or probability, as is often the case in American mathematics curricula.

French Camp School Curriculum as it Pertains to Mathematics Instruction

In the United States, there appears to be much more of a sense of isolation, independence, and un-connectedness with state-level curriculum implementation than in Mexico: for example, the administration at the French Camp School does not anticipate any state-level financial support in the implementation of the Mathematics Framework, and expects that the district office will have to come up with the money to inservice teachers and provide other materials for implementation. By contrast, in Mexico, state-level support includes supervisors regularly coming to inspect schools for compliance with curriculum; classrooms display colorful charts denoting progress along the state-mandated curriculum. This contrast is also evident in educators' views of what comprises a good teacher. In Mexico, a good teacher is considered to be one who follows the state-mandated curriculum thoroughly, while the principal of French Camp School places less emphasis on the curriculum *per se* in his description of what comprises a good teacher: he considers a good teacher to be one who demonstrates skill in motivating students to learn the curriculum content. In the United States, the trickling down of curriculum and other instructional mandates from the state level to the individual schools is slow, and much gets watered down in the process. Therefore, although this curriculum comparison is being conducted with an eye to new curriculum standards being set in California, alignment with those standards, currently or in the immediate future, cannot be assumed.

The scope and sequence chart for the French Camp School includes numerals/symbols, whole numbers, fractions, decimals, and percent; the expectations listed are limited to arithmetic manipulations of these symbolic notations, and do not include provisions for the use of arithmetic as a vehicle for the understanding of other strands of mathematics: for example, the use of decimal or percentage notation as a language for discussing probability and statistics. This emphasis on arithmetic skills to the exclusion of other mathematics skills and understanding is and has been widespread in mathematics education throughout the United States.

French Camp School mathematics curriculum also stresses number concepts and arithmetic skills heavily, with particular emphasis on symbolic representation of numerical relationships (symbol recognition, writing numerals, place value notation) and symbolic expression of arithmetic operations (pencil and paper addition, subtraction, multiplication and division). Examination of the scope and sequence charts for the mathematics curriculum indicates that the students' manipulation of symbols occurs in the absence of the prerequisite concrete experiences of the underlying concepts: children are required to "know", recognize, or be able to write certain things about numbers and number relationships, yet any requirements for the concrete experience or manipulation of the concepts which the symbols illustrate are not codified as part of the curriculum.

For example, the scope and sequence for the fifth grade indicates that children will learn how to read and write numerals through the millions; (symbolic representation), yet the curriculum does not appear to have provisions for concrete understanding of what a million of something is, and how it differs in magnitude from one hundred million, or from ten thousand. The children will, according to the curriculum, have experiences using the multiplication algorithm with three-digit numbers (manipulations of symbols); this will undoubtedly yield products in the millions. However, unless they have actually had concrete experiences of what one million of something looks like, and feels like, compared to one thousand or ten thousand, or one hundred million, they have no other tool with which to check their answer, no other way of understanding one million; they are dependent on their correct application of the symbolic rules and procedures.

Critical thinking has been targeted as a mathematics-based skill to receive additional curriculum and teaching resources in the 1986-87 school year. This is an opportunity for critical thinking skills to be viewed not as a discrete set of skills or competencies, but as another set of tools which the learner can bring to bear on his or her understanding of mathematical concepts and application of mathematical skills. This can occur most naturally by weaving

concrete experiences of mathematics into the existing curriculum in such a way that they precede introduction of the symbolic representation of each concept. This would provide a concrete contextual base for the practice of symbol manipulation. For instance, consider the skills and concept practice that would occur if students were asked to estimate how large a plot of grass would have to be to contain one million blades of grass: problem solving techniques such as identifying the problem and selecting appropriate solution strategies are required. Critical thinking skills would be practiced to determine the reasonableness of the strategies and resulting answer. Practice of arithmetic operations would occur, in a context that allows students to check their own answers for reasonableness (and therefore check their own understanding). The French Camp School administration has already earmarked resources for the purchase of additional concrete materials and manipulatives; these purchases are seen as being linked to the implementation of critical thinking instruction in the classroom.

As in the Mexican system, assessment of student progress occurs at regular intervals. At French Camp, these September, April and May assessments at each grade level give teachers a profile of skills and competencies for the whole class and for individual students. Whereas, in the Mexican system, instruction proceeds along the prescribed curriculum regardless of student assessment scores, at French Camp, this information generally serves as a guide to instruction, providing the basis for ability-grouping of students: at the primary level, instruction is individualized to the degree that small group instruction can meet individual needs. In the upper grades, the periodic diagnostic assessments result in more global ability grouping: students are placed on whole class "tracks" according to their scores, and whole class instruction is the primary teaching mode, as in Mexico. One-to-one remediation also occurs, and in the French Camp School, such remediation has more formal institutionalized support than in Mexico; this support is in the form of classroom aides who can either provide the individual attention themselves, or free the teacher for such time by accomplishing other non-teaching tasks.

The migrant population accounts for close to 40% of French Camp School population during the four months of the school year that they are there. The Migrant Education Program provides support during this time in the form of bilingual classroom aides and a bilingual resource teacher, who works closely with classroom teachers.

Math Framework Objectives, as Currently Implemented in French Camp and Mexican Schools

Content:

One of the primary goals stated in the Math Framework is that instruction occur in all mathematics strands at every grade level; while instruction in neither the French Camp nor the Mexican model now fully accomplishes this, it is useful to examine current instruction in all of the math strands in light of that goal.

Number

In both situations, study of numerical relationships and arithmetic operations comprise the majority of mathematics curriculum at all grade levels. In some instances, the Mexican curriculum calls for more advanced use of mathematical operations: by the end of third grade, for example, Mexican school children are expected to do four-digit division with remainders; their peers at the French Camp School are required to do two-digit division. The algorithm is the same for both, but the application of the algorithm required of the Mexican school children entails carrying it out further.

Measurement

At the French Camp School, primary grade measurement instruction is focused on linear measurement. This is also true of the Mexican model, although measurement of perimeter (discontinuous length) is introduced in third grade. Upper grade instruction in both the Mexican model and the French Camp School includes measurement of area, solid and liquid volume, and weight, as well as continued work with linear measurement.

Geometry

At the French Camp School, primary grade instruction in geometry focuses on identification of shapes. The Mexican model also includes identification of shapes, and also requires that primary grade children make comparisons and observe relationships among shapes, and observe and compare properties of different shapes. Upper grade subject matter in both systems includes recognition of parallel and perpendicular lines, acute and obtuse angles, points, rays, and line segments. In addition, the Mexican model includes study of symmetry: identifying symmetrical shapes, finding lines of symmetry, etc.

Patterns And Functions

Neither the French Camp School scope and sequence nor the Mexican model indicate inclusion of patterns and functions in their curricula.

Statistics And Probability

Study of statistics and probability at the French Camp School begins in the fifth grade, and is limited to estimation and computation of averages, and arithmetic operations with

percent, according to the scope and sequence charts. The Mexican curriculum model starts study of probability and statistics in the fourth grade, and includes estimation and computation of averages and use of percent, as well as use of bar graphs.

Logic

Logic has not been an area of curriculum attention at French Camp School in the past; however, the teaching of critical thinking skills, and presumably logic, will be receiving additional instructional resources and attention in the coming school year. In the Mexican model, it appears that logical thinking skills have been built into the task requirements as students learn about other mathematics strands, geometry in particular. In addition, the sixth grade curriculum includes instruction in specific logic tools such as falsifying and verifying.

Algebra

Instruction in algebra is not included in the French Camp School curriculum scope and sequence. The Mexican model includes study of the associative, commutative and distributive properties, and of exponential numbers in the sixth grade.

Delivery Of Instruction

Delivery of mathematics instruction must be geared so that real understanding of mathematical concepts can emerge; the following comparison, taken from the Math Framework (p. 13), amply illustrates the differences between teaching for understanding and teaching only rules and concepts. The inclusion of this table is not meant to imply that teaching of rules and procedures should not occur; rather, it should occur in the context of teaching for understanding.

Teaching for Understanding	Teaching Rules and Procedures
Emphasizes understanding	Emphasizes recall
Teaches a few generalizations	Teaches many rules
Develops conceptual schemas or interrelated concepts	Develops fixed of specific processes or skills
Identifies global relationships	Identifies sequential steps
Is adaptable to new tasks or situations (broad application)	Is used for specific tasks or situations (limited context)
Takes longer to learn but is retained more easily	Is learned more quickly but is quickly forgotten
Is difficult to teach	Is easy to teach
Is difficult to test	Is easy to test

The authors of the Math Framework have identified some of the teaching behaviors, attitudes and approaches that can foster this level of mathematics understanding in students; comparisons of French Camp and Mexican instruction techniques have been made below in an attempt to offer the reader a context in which to assess incoming students' instructional experiences as they impact on real understanding of mathematical concepts.

Teaching For Understanding

Both the French Camp School and the Mexican curriculum model reflect a tendency towards a teaching of rules and procedures. In the French Camp School, as in many schools throughout the United States, this appears to be at the expense of teaching for understanding: specific processes and skills are developed in the absence of conceptual schemas. In the Mexican model, the didactic nature of instruction works against the probability of teaching for understanding, while the integrative nature of the curriculum and the higher level thinking required by some of the competencies listed work toward a teaching for understanding.

Problem Solving

Problem solving requires that students engage in specific thinking processes or procedures: they must identify the problem in a situation, analyze the problem and select a strategy, find the solution by carrying out the chosen strategy, and evaluate their solution for reasonableness and accuracy. While neither the French Camp School nor the Mexican system include these thinking processes *per se* in their curriculum models, the verbs used in describing content area competency requirements are indicative of the thinking processes expected of students. In the Mexican model, the thinking required in problem solving situations seems to be incorporated into the tasks that are required of students in the study of other mathematics strands: students are required, for example, to "find", "classify", and "compare"; this appears to occur throughout the grade levels. The French Camp School skill requirements are limited to "identifying", "reading", "writing", "counting" and performing the four basic arithmetic operations. As has been noted, although the French Camp School has not had particular objectives for problem solving instructions, the current targeting of resources on critical thinking skills may have a positive impact on problem solving instruction.

Situational Lessons

The Mexican model of education appears to have considerable latitude for situational lessons. The holistic, integrated curriculum in the primary grades lends itself well to such learning situations. Upper grade text materials have a rural life context, and provide activities that encourage active student participation in situation-based instruction. The French

Camp School mathematics curriculum appears to have no provisions for situational lessons now, although would be an appropriate instructional method with which to accomplish the intended increased focus on critical thinking skills.

Concrete Materials

Neither the French Camp School nor the Mexican schools have a wealth of concrete materials; therefore, children's use of manipulatives in learning mathematical concepts has been limited. As mentioned earlier, the French Camp School has allocated funds to the purchase of additional math manipulatives for the upcoming school year.

Flexibility/Individualization

The Mexican model has no provisions for individualization of instruction; mathematics instruction is limited to whole class instruction. The French Camp School groups children for math instruction according to ability, or skills mastered; therefore, in the primary grades, instruction is individualized to the degree that small group instruction can meet individual needs. In the upper grades, whole class instruction to ability-grouped classes substitutes for individualized instruction.

Remediation

In both the Mexican and French Camp School models, one-one-one remediation, or re-teaching, is the only form of individual instruction. The French Camp School offers teachers more support for this form of instruction than does the Mexican model; this support is in the form of classroom aides who can help remediate students or can perform other classroom tasks so that the teacher has more time for individual and group remediation. In Mexico, remediation is more often accomplished by peers and family, as well as by the teacher.

Cooperative Learning Groups

Heterogeneous cooperative learning groups are learning structures which encourage discussion of strategies, verbalization of solutions, and interaction with materials; these behaviors and others fostered by this kind of learning environment facilitate students' internalizing and applying of mathematical concepts. Currently, this learning structure is employed in neither the French Camp School nor the Mexican model.

Questioning And Responding Behaviors

It appears that despite the didactic teaching style inherent in the Mexican model of education, the Mexican mathematics curriculum incorporates questioning strategies that require students to integrate, analyze and synthesize, as well as demonstrate recall. The French Camp

School scope and sequence offers no evidence that students are required to do that higher level thinking in order to answer questions posed as part of the mathematics curriculum.

Mathematical Language/Vocabulary

The Mexican model curriculum integrates the use of mathematical vocabulary in mathematical contexts in its requirement that students compare, contrast, and classify shapes, numbers, and quantities. The French Camp School scope and sequence appears to make no such requirements of its students; it is difficult to assess the degree to which mathematical language is stressed in the French Camp School's mathematics program.

The Mexican curriculum model provides a good example of what almost full implementation of the Mathematics Framework for California Schools would entail: the mathematics strands are well represented, and active thinking processes are stressed in the application of content learning. California educators can also learn from the Mexican example that integration of subject areas in general, and math strands in particular, is an instructional technique that yields tremendous learning benefits to students, as evidenced by third grade Mexican competencies after two years of a holistic, integrative curriculum.

The following provides details as to specific competency requirements for each grade level for the French Camp School and for the Mexican schools. No mathematics competencies have been stated for first and second grade children in Mexico, as these children receive integrated subject matter instruction. Although the French Camp School extends through eighth grade, the mathematics scope and sequence have been included only through the sixth grade, as this is the exit grade in Mexico.

Math Skills Scope and Sequence			
Grade 1		Grade 2	
French Camp	Mexico	French Camp	Mexico
Read and write numerals to 100; count by 2's, 5's and 10's to 100; know the meaning of <i>after</i>, <i>before</i>, and <i>between</i>. Know place value of 1's and 10's Know the meanings of the following symbols, as applied to one and two-digit numerals and number sentences: +, -, =, >, and <. Add with combinations through 10; add two-digit numerals without carrying. Subtract with combinations through 10; subtract two-digit numerals without borrowing. Recognize an object or area which is separated into halves or fourths; match the following fractions to corresponding objects or areas: $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$. Identify the value of the following coins: pennies, nickels, and dimes; count money with coins up to one dollar. Tell time on the hour and the half-hour. Measure to the nearest centimeter and inch. Know the six basic shapes and their names: circle, square, rectangle, triangle, diamond, and oval.		Count and write numerals through 500; count by 2's, 5's, and 10's to 500; know the meanings of <i>after</i>, <i>before</i>, and <i>between</i> to hundreds place. Know place value of hundreds. Know the meanings of the following symbols, as applied to three-digit numerals and number sentences: +, -, =, >, and <. Add with combinations through 18; add two-digit numerals with carrying. Subtract with combinations through 18; subtract two-digit numerals with borrowing. Recognize the following fractions, as displayed in geometric shapes: $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, and $\frac{3}{4}$. Count money with a combination of pennies, nickels, dimes, quarters, and half-dollars—not to exceed a total of one dollar. Tell time to the nearest quarter-hour. Measure to the nearest centimeter; measure to the nearest $\frac{1}{2}$ inch.	

Math Skills Scope and Sequence			
Grade 3		Grade 4	
French Camp	Mexico	French Camp	Mexico
Write numerals to 1,000 Know place value to 1,000 Add 3-digit numerals with carrying Subtract up to 3 digits, 0 in 10's place, borrowing. Multiply through 5x9 Divide through 9 Add and subtract fractions to less than one Use decimal point and \$ to write amounts up to \$100. Add/Subtract decimals with carrying up to ones place. Count coins/bills up to \$10. Time-nearest 1/2 hour, 1/4 hour, 5 minutes. Measure to nearest centimeter, 1/4 inch; know number of inches in foot, number of feet in yard. Know cup, quart, gallon. Know 6 basic shapes: circle, square, rectangle, diamond, oval triangle.	Write numerals to 10,000 Know place value to 1,000 Add 3-digit numerals with carrying Subtract up to 3 digits, 0 in 10's place, borrowing. Multiply through 4. Division through 4 places, with remainder Add and subtract fractions to less than one. Use decimals in money up to \$999.99; Add-subtract to tens place, multiply by one digit numeral. Tell time to nearest minute. Number of inches in yard, gram, lb., kilogram, oz Recognize point, segment, ray, line, angle. Measure perimeter of square, rectangle, triangle. Idea of symmetry and non-symmetry. Multiples of 1,000 to 10,000 Meter, centimeters Bar graphs. Measure and calculate perimeter. Idea of parallel and perpendicular. Parallel and perpendicular in the definition of rectangle. How to use a compass Area of rectangles-measuring its sides. Area of triangles. Place value to 10,000s; round off whole numbers through 100's place.	Place value to 10,000; round off whole numbers through 100's place. Add 2 or more 4-digit numerals. Subtract 2 or more 4-digit numerals. Multiply 10x10, 3 digit x 2 digit. Divide 100 by 10, divide with one digit divisor with possible remainders, 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/5, 1/6. Add/subtract like fractions and mixed numerals with like fractions without simplifying. Use decimals in money up to \$999.99.	Add/subtract like fractions and mixed numerals with like fractions without simplifying.

Math Skills Scope and Sequence			
Grade 5		Grade 6	
French Camp	Mexico	French Camp	Mexico
Numbers through million Add/subtract any whole number X and divide by 2 digit Compute averages, estimate answers Add/subtract mixed fractions X and divide with simple fractions. Decimals up to \$9,999.99 Measure to nearest 1/8 inch and centimeter convert measurements to inches, feet, yards: Add/subtract inches, feet, yards. Know ounces, lb, ton, gram, kilogram. Convert measurements to gallon, quart, pint, cups / + and - them. Know correct use of liter Know parallel and perpendicular.	Numbers through million add/subtract any whole number add/subtract mixed fractions Add positive and negative whole numbers. Bar graphs Associative, commutative and Distributive properties Area of trapezoid Calculate volume Similarities/differences between geometric figures.	Add/subtract mixed numerals with unlike denominators, simplify answers figures by their number Multiply/divide fractions, mixed numerals and whole numerals. Add/subtract decimals Multiply decimals Dividing with decimal divisors. Identify percent equivalents of 1/2, 1/4, and 3/4. Add and subtract U.S. customary liquid measurements, with carrying and borrowing. Convert metric linear, liquid volume, and weight measurements into U.S. customary units. Recognize: hexagon, octagon, parallelogram, pentagon, quadrilateral, trapezoid; parallel and perpendicular lines; acute and obtuse angles. Measure area and perimeter of square, rectangle, triangle. Decimal place value through thousandths. Add/subtract with 2-digit carrying and borrowing. Multiply up to 4-digit numerals. Divide up to 3-digit divisors with possible remainders. Compute averages. Estimate Read and solve one-step word problems.	Axis of symmetrical figures Statistics/probability. Word problems with +, -, x. Classification of geometric of axis. Area and volume of cubes and squares. Count by 100's to 1,000. Area and volume of surfaces. Add/subtract with different denominator. Drawing to scale. Bar diagrams. Natural/rational numbers. Operations with positive and negative numbers. Area of irregular figures. Add/subtract fractions. Conversion of money. Proportionals with quantifiables. Angles and poly-angles. Probability of events. Percentage. Perimeter of a circle. Numbers to the exponential. Proportions. Area and volume of prisms and cylinders. Statistics (concepts). Falsifying/verifying; volumes Concept of scale Application of inverse addition in operations. Direct and propositional proportional variation.

Chapter 9 Reading Process contributed by Robert Miller.

Chapter 9 Math Skills contributed by Sandy Bredt.



Chapter 10

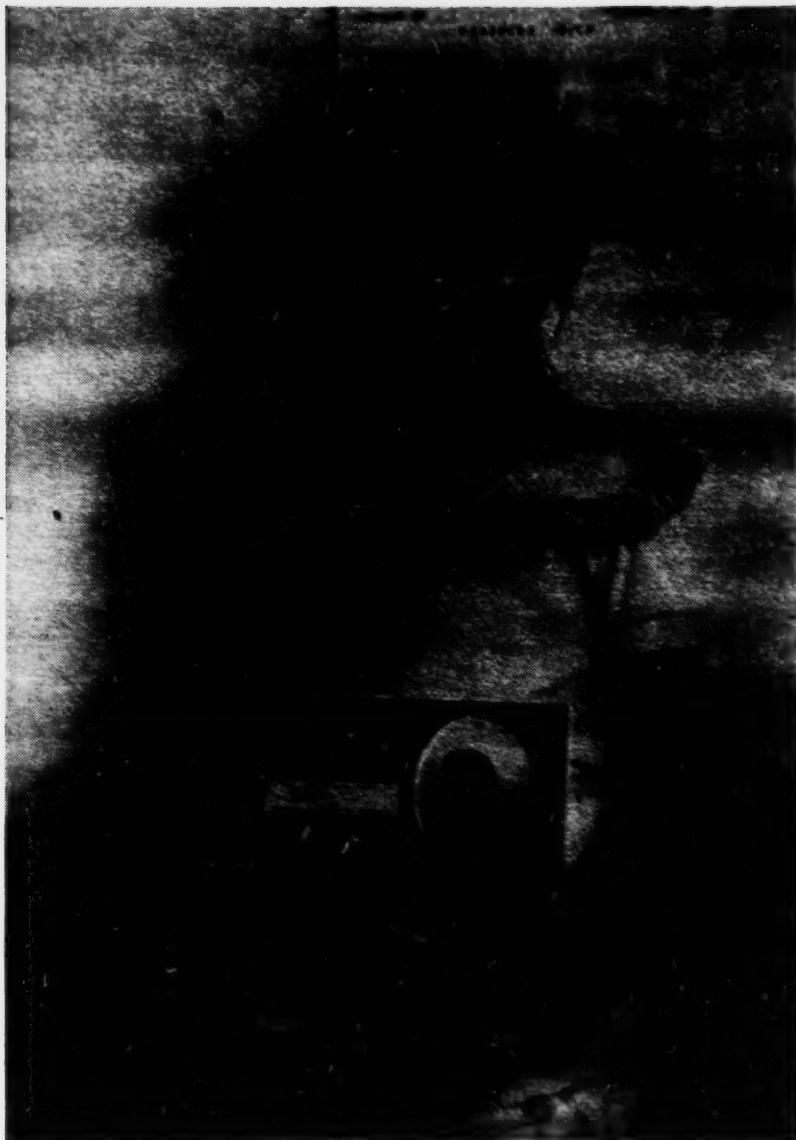
Family Portraits

These portraits are the result of several hours spent with the parents and children in both Mexico and the U.S. These families became not only useful informants, but also friends. Their names have been changed, but we believe they will recognize their own stories. Their stories speak for all the families interviewed in this study and we are grateful for everyone's candid and serious discussions concerning the hardships and pleasures experienced in living a life of migrancy. This chapter is dedicated to their children, whom we fervently hope will eventually encounter educational systems willing to respond to their special needs.

The Morales Family: Togetherness Through Teamwork

It is 2:30 a.m. and the start of another arduous day for the Morales family. Although in Mexico they have more time to sleep and dream, the members of this family happily and determinedly perform their work in French Camp, trying not to pay attention to the tiredness and cares they suffer. Mrs. Morales is in charge of preparing breakfast and lunch for those who work or study. Her husband leaves first since he has a two hour ride to where he works. In previous years he was accompanied by his wife, but this year she is pregnant with their fifth child. After her husband leaves, Mrs. Morales rests until 6:00 a.m. when she gets the three older daughters ready for school and the youngest for day care. Each family member fulfills a specific obligation: Mr. Morales works in the fields, the daughters go to school, and, when there is an opportunity, the older one works in the day care center. The family arrives home around 2:00 p.m. when they all rest and eat dinner and discuss the day's activities; preparing for another day of the same tomorrow. They miss their life in Villa Mendoza where they are able to sleep until 6:00 a.m. without having to worry about finding work for the next day. At home, Mr. Morales is used to helping an old neighbor with his cattle and with planting his fields. The two older daughters can't attend school in Villa Mendoza because they don't have their 6th grade diploma, and because the Junior High School is too far away for them to walk to. They remain at home, watching tv and helping to clean house. The two younger daughters regularly attend the elementary school. In the afternoon they sew, knit or do homework.

In order to know when and why this family began to migrate, we need to go back to 1970 when Mrs. Morales (who was single then) received papers permitting her to migrate to the U.S. She married and continued to migrate, yearly, with her husband. The main reason



they began to migrate was an economic necessity, but later, the reasons included their daughters wanting to learn English, and wanting to maintain their friendships in the U.S. They told us that they migrate because there is no work in Villa Mendoza and that they are following a pattern established by their parents who started to migrate as youths. The act of traveling to the U.S. to work helps them financially and lessens the worry if they don't find additional work during the six months in Mexico. Migration has become a habit for this family and the older daughters expect to continue migrating as long as possible. Mr. Morales told us that even if there were work in Villa Mendoza they would continue to migrate simply because the U.S. provides more assistance than does Mexico. If French Camp were open all year, they would remain in the U.S. They are able to earn enough money to live and to enjoy a few luxuries in their house in Villa Mendoza (tv, wringer washer).

In French Camp the family seems to live happily in a small, but comfortable house that the camp provides at low cost. Also provided, free of charge, is the day care center, school bus, and medical clinic. The girls like the camp, the gardens, and the change in life style. Mrs. Morales states that she also likes the laundry facilities. Their house has 3 bedrooms, living/dining room, kitchen and a "complete" bathroom. Thus, while Mr. Morales is reading in his bedroom, the daughters can watch tv in the livingroom and Mrs. Morales has the whole kitchen to cook in.

When a visitor arrives, the first thing that is noticed is the picture of Sofia (next to oldest daughter) and the award she received for being the best student of the month at school. All of the daughters are well liked by their teachers, who comment that they are usually the best students in the class. The three older daughters say that they like to study and to be with their American friends, using the opportunity to practice their English. Although they really like school, the girls don't think about the possibility of continuing beyond high school. This is perhaps the hardest thing for us to hear since they all possess the intelligence and capacity to continue. In thinking about "why?", these factors seem pertinent: a) their economic situation will continue to demand yearly migration, b) the fact that the two oldest were born in the U.S. has prohibited them from going beyond the 6th grade in Mexico since they were unable to earn the necessary diploma, c) the traditional Mexican belief that holds that women belong at home and ought not to have outside jobs, d) the parents only have 2 or 3 years of primary school, and while they are proud of their daughters, there hasn't been an established pattern of higher education, and e) the parents aren't encouraging their daughters to continue in their studies.



Although it seems contradictory, the parents are interested in their daughters attending school and are proud of their achievements but at the same time they don't push them to study and are willing to let them decide to do whatever they want.

The social atmosphere in which this family lives, both in French Camp and in Villa Mendoza, is a warm one. They are well accepted and don't seem to suffer from the criticisms that are thrown their way by people who don't understand the migrant situation. This is a very united family and one that is able to face the many difficulties presented to it.

The Guzman Family: Unrequited Talent

The smiling face of Alicia greets us through the window as we arrive to visit her family in French Camp. Mrs. Guzman also greeted us warmly and invited us in. Her oldest daughter then came out of her room to chat with us. They both began to tell us about the hard day of work they had had. It was a Sunday, and they began work at 4:30 a.m. in the cucumbers. We were surprised to learn that both older children had also been working the last two weeks in the fields. According to Mrs. Guzman, they want their son and daughter to decide which they prefer the most: studying or working!

Soon, Mr. Guzman joined us in the living room, somewhat disheveled since we interrupted his resting. He welcomed us and confirmed that Juan and Sonia were now tired of getting up at dawn to work and he thinks that they will return to school with more of a desire to study hard. Sonia smiled and agreed with her father. The parents began to talk to us about some of the problems surrounding their work. More migrants are looking for work in the U.S. which leads to a lowering of wages. Presently they receive only 60 cents a bucket for cucumbers and, in a good day, they are able to pick about 60 buckets. Despite the hard working conditions and tiredness that they experience here, the parents affirmed that if there were year-round work they would stay in French Camp and that, in the future, they will follow their children wherever they decide to work or study.

Sonia told us that she would like to be a beauty operator (although, previously, she had spoken of being a nurse) and Juan likes to draw, while Roberto, the youngest, likes math and concentrates his time on that. The parents went on to tell us that, in the past, they experienced problems with a particular teacher at school. This teacher came to their house solely to insult them and tell them how poorly behaved their children were in school. The parents were taken by surprise by this and became upset at the way they were treated. Upon hearing this, we, too, were surprised since, after spending many hours with this family we found them to be calm, and often serious thinkers. This attack was verified through consulting the school



records. The anger and unprofessional name calling which appears on the permanent record of these students is shameful. In the case of one of the children, there seems to have been a resultant loss of interest in school.

The parents strongly commented that the main disadvantage the children face is the disruption of school and having to interact with two different educational systems. This hinders their success but migration will have to continue as long as possible, nevertheless.

They all enjoy their stay in French Camp. Mrs. Guzman is happy with the house, the camp services, and the school bus. The children like the opportunities to both go to school and to work. The family takes time to sight see occasionally and visit friends in nearby towns. Although they enjoy these aspects, they feel that they could not live forever in the U.S. Their life in Villa Mendoza is "home" and they are accustomed to their routine which Mrs. Guzman describes,

"We get up at 6:30, my husband goes to the fields in the mornings or to town for supplies. I stay at home, tending our store, which the children help with after school. Juan studies in the TV junior high in Acuitzeramo. Sonia doesn't study in Mexico because she doesn't have her 6th grade diploma since she was born in the U.S. This has impeded the continuation of her schooling in Mexico but she, nevertheless, has hopes of studying a little more in the future. Another situation we face at home is that we (as migrants) have to pay more for services and public works, and, in addition, we suffer strong criticism and envy from our neighbors who don't migrate because we enjoy having a house that is better kept, with a few electrical appliances, an automobile and the tranquility of having a more assured economic future. There are still people who won't accept this."

This family, too, has a history of migration. Mr. Guzman's father began migrating as a Bracero in 1946 but it wasn't until 1960 that he managed to get his green card. Mr. Guzman began migrating, also, and returned for 8 years to the same job in Los Angeles. Two of these years he was a bachelor, then he married and continued this pattern for 6 years. They have been migrating to French Camp as a family since 1971.

As we were saying goodbye, we discovered Juan, seated outside in the yard, who had been too shy to come in and enter the conversation. This shyness was due to the fact that he had not had time to clean up from the morning work and didn't want to present himself as a "field worker" to us. . .

The Gonzalez Family: Traditionalism and Hard Work

"Work, work, and more work. And to think that I didn't use to like it. I remember the sad time in Mexico waiting the return of my husband. I longed to arrange my papers so I could go to the U.S. to work with him in order to, perhaps, improve our economic condition. When I finally got my papers, I didn't really want to work, but now I like it, yes, I like it very much, although the work is very hard.

For us, work begins with the sound of the alarm at 4:25 a.m. I get up and prepare us breakfast and lunch, and then the two of us leave for the fields. Recently we have been picking cucumbers. Our children (ages 8 and 10) have to get ready for school by themselves; this worries me but there is nothing else to do. We return in mid-afternoon, thinking only of eating and resting; but other things have to be done, like cleaning the house, washing clothes and fixing dinner. There isn't time for everything! Occasionally, we go to the store, and this is one of the few opportunities I have to see Stockton; however, we are usually too tired to enjoy ourselves. Well, in Villa Mendoza I don't go out to visit friends or go to parties, either, so, I guess life's the same in both places.

In Villa Mendoza we don't have to get up until 7:30! I get the children ready for school and remain alone at home, cleaning; but, as you know, our house is much bigger there. Our car is very useful there to go to the store. Actually, my husband is the one who goes to the store; I don't go out much. Those of us who migrate have a greater variety and more food than those who don't.

I like French Camp. The rent is low and services are available. Also, my husband takes the children out for drives here.

As for education, my children aren't learning very well and aren't going to pass the year. I think it's because they spend a little time in Mexico and a little time in the U.S. and they aren't able to catch on, although they attend regularly. My husband is the one in charge of reviewing and signing their report cards. I don't like to do that. I have never visited the school at French Camp because I don't know the teachers and I couldn't go there alone when they call meetings. I would like it if they would visit me here at home. Back home we are asked to pay more for school and public services because we migrate.

Our dream is for our children to study because we didn't have the opportunity to study, and now that they do, we want them to. We will continue to migrate as long as we can: our family has been doing it since 1960, and it's our way of life."

Chapter 11

Recommendations

Hopefully, this study has taken the reader on a journey: one that follows the path of binational migrant children as they travel with their families between Mexico and the U.S. Pertinent sociocultural and educational factors encountered in these contrasting worlds have been identified, while the resultant perceptions that educators and parents derive from the manner in which these factors interact in specific contexts (both within and across cultures) have been documented and analyzed in the foregoing chapters. This final chapter summarizes the findings and offers recommendations for policy makers and teachers on ways to improve the educational experience for binational students.

Finding

International migrant children routinely travel between the United States and Mexico and enter two different school systems each year. The school system in Mexico is a centralized system whereby all curriculum and textbooks are developed and distributed by the SEP (Secretary of Public Education). Mexico's educational system is relatively new (1920-40) and is currently burdened by the overwhelming economic crisis occurring in that country. Thus, children from the rural sending communities investigated in this study are used to classrooms with few resources and inadequate facilities. The students, however, are accustomed to a classroom environment where cooperation, mutual respect and an affectionate atmosphere prevail.

Recommendations

Policy makers need to:

- Recognize the changing demographics of the U.S., particularly the growing Hispanic population in California.
- Acknowledge bi-national migrant children as a growing student population with unique, bi-cultural, bi-national implications.
- Identify in greater detail the migration patterns of bi-national migrant children between California and Mexico.
- Recognize the ways in which communities are affected by and how they respond to international migrants.
- Recognize that U.S. educational and social systems contribute to the failure of bi-national migrant students.
- Implement educational policies that are less ethnocentrically oriented, to allow for greater participation of culturally diverse students.
- Promote the international migrant child as a potential bi-national resource.

Teachers need to:

- Recognize and accept the cultural values that international migrant children bring: validate their experiences by incorporating them into lessons.
- Recognize the different behavioral expectations of Mexican teachers: discuss with and remind students of differences rather than punishing them for infractions.

Finding

Mexico offers a rigorous elementary curriculum to its children. Requirements have been implemented that bring the teacher training requirements on a par with those of the State of California. Neither system, however, offers adequate teacher training on the factors surrounding the issue of bi-national migration.

Recommendations

Policy Makers need to:

- Continue the current bi-national communication and cooperation with Mexico.
- Help ensure appropriate student placement through utilization of the bi-lingual MSRTS-SIS system.
- Develop a Bi-national In-Service Program for educators in Mexico and the U.S. which would include teacher exchange opportunities.
- Continue to support school-based supplementary programs to address the special needs of international migrant children.

Teachers need to:

- Recognize that the Mexican curriculum is a well-integrated one that better reflects the cultural orientation and life experiences of bi-national migrant children.
- Form a partnership with sending towns: adopt-a-school/classroom, develop units that reflect the bi-national life of the students.
- Accurately place students upon arrival: SIS seems the most appropriate transfer record at present.
- Become aware of the methodologies and learning theories used in Mexico: incorporate cooperative learning, pro social activities in the classroom.

Finding

Mexican parents are used to working closely with the school principal to raise money for materials, equipment, and repairs for their schools. Teachers and parents are not strangers; parents respect teachers as professionals and also welcome them as participants in social events. They are members of a community where the teachers generally have more education than the parents but where the parents may have a higher social status due to the economic advantage they hold as migrants.

Recommendations

Policy Makers need to:

- Recognize barriers to effective parent participation and offer a means of participation that can be more realistically accomplished by international migrant parents.
- Develop a training document to outline special requirements for school registration in both California and Mexico.
- Develop and implement a training program for parents to help facilitate their children's transfer between systems.

Teachers need to:

- Understand the way that parents are accustomed to participating in schools and search for a variety of ways to encourage continued participation in the U.S.
- Reach out to parents in a more informal manner.
- Realize that parents may not be able to provide at home "tutoring" in English for their children.

Finding

Educators are trained members of a particular culture and, as such, reflect the values and beliefs of a larger society. Teachers in the U.S. identified particular traits (competitiveness, extroversion, leadership, interest in sports) as those constituting successful student behavior. These traits became a standard against which teachers measured all students, regardless of their cultural background.

Recommendations

Policy makers need to:

- Review school forms to see how they may "set-up" a particular framework through which children are viewed.
- Provide in-service training to understand hidden perceptions and behaviors and how they affect student achievement.
- Review ways in which administrative practices may be modified to increase educational achievement of bi-national migrant students.

Teachers need to:

- Pay close attention to the kinds of comments they write on students' permanent records.
- Understand the role that societal values play in forming educational practices and how the process of education can affect both academic and affective outcomes of bi-national students.

California's educational system is composed of an ethnically diverse student population. Bi-national migrant children, in particular, face extreme cultural and contextual influences as they move between Mexican and American school systems. This study sought to understand various dynamic, cross-cultural factors that influence the social and educational experiences of these children. By understanding the past history and the current context of these students' lives, educators can begin to look for ways to respond to and meet the special needs of bi-national migrant children.

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January 1, 1986

Appendix 1
Teacher Questionnaire

THE INTERNATIONAL MIGRANT CHILD

TRAINING

1. What led you to become a teacher?
2. Briefly describe your training (i.e., # of years, major...).
3. Did you receive any special training regarding migrant students?
4. Is there a continuing educational requirement for teachers? If so, what is required? Who provides it? How often?
5. What is the teacher's role in relation to parents?
6. How long have you been teaching? How long have you worked with migrant students?

EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

1. Number of students in class, how many are migrants? Are there different patterns of migration? When do they come and go? How long has this been going on?
2. Have you noticed any differences between migrant students and non-migrant students? Could you describe these differences?
3. Are there language difficulties?
4. Upon returning from the U.S. how are students placed? Criteria.
5. When they return, what have they missed in your class? When they leave/ travel, during their absence, what do they miss?
6. Do students receive credit for the work they do in the U.S.?
7. Do students bring back sufficient documentation for you to know what they have done there? If yes, then, what do they bring? Is it useful? What more would be helpful?
8. Upon returning what is the registration procedure? What happens to those born in the U.S.?
9. What is attendance pattern of migrant students, how does it compare with non-migrants?

10. If there are attendance problems, what do you think are the causes of them?
11. Are there any migrant children that you know of who don't attend school? Why don't they?
12. Now – Grading Procedures.

Describe Report Card procedure:

1. how often?
2. how are parents notified?
3. what is a failing score?
4. what happens to students who are failing?
5. what determines a particular score?
6. can we have copies of current IMC's report cards?
(for specific students).

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

1. Why do you think people migrate?
2. To gain knowledge, how long have people been migrating?
3. What is the status of families and children here?
4. How does migration affect the town and school?
5. Can you list some advantages and disadvantages of migrant lifestyle?
6. Do the non-migrant children treat the IMC differently?
7. Do the IMC speak English among themselves, i.e., in class or at recess?
8. How do you feel about this?
9. How do the children react?

PARENTS

1. What role do the parents play?
–individual
–committee
2. How often are meetings held? Who calls them?
3. Content of meetings? Purposes?

4. Do parents voice needs?
5. Has migration affected the parents involvement? If so, how?
6. Who are the town leaders? Do the migrant parents take leadership roles?

22 Abril, 1986

Appendix 1
Teacher Questionnaire

EL NIÑO MIGRANTE INTERNACIONAL

1. ¿Qué le motivó a ser maestro/a?
2. Describa brevemente que preparación recibió (ej., años de estudio, cursos especiales, tipo de trabajo que usted considera haya ayudado a su formación profesional).
3. ¿Ha recibido algún entrenamiento especial relacionado con los estudiantes migrantes?
4. ¿Qué clase de relación existe entre padres y maestros?
5. ¿Cuánto tiempo lleva enseñando? ¿Cuánto tiempo ha trabajado con estudiantes migrantes?
6. ¿Qué tipo de problemas encuentra en su profesión de maestro?
7. ¿Qué aspectos de la profesión le gustan más?

AMBIENTE EDUCATIVO

1. ¿Cuántos estudiantes hay en su clase?
2. ¿Ha notado diferencias entre estudiantes migrantes y no migrantes? ¿Podría describir éstas diferencias?
3. ¿Existen dificultades con el lenguaje?
4. ¿Los estudiantes migrantes traen a usted suficiente documentación para enterarlo de lo que han aprendido allá? En caso afirmativo, ¿Qué traen? ¿Le sirve? ¿Qué otra información le ayudaría a usted?
5. En caso de ausencia, ¿Cuál cree usted que sea la causa? (específicamente niños/as migrantes)
6. ¿Asisten a la escuela con menos regularidad los niños migrantes que los no migrantes?
7. ¿Sabe usted de niños migrantes que no van a la escuela? ¿Por qué no van?

AMBIENTE SOCIAL

1. ¿Cuál cree usted que sea la razón por que la gente migra?

2. ¿Es diferente el nivel social de los migrantes comparado con el de los que no migran?
3. ¿Qué efecto tiene la migración en la comunidad y la escuela?
4. ¿Podría darnos una lista de ventajas y desventajas en el modo de vivir de las familias migrantes? (comparado con las no-migrantes).
5. ¿Los niños no-migrantes tratan a los migrantes en forma diferente? ¿Cómo?
6. ¿Los niños migrantes hablan inglés o español entre ellos? ¿Durante la clase o en recreo?
7. ¿Qué piensa usted sobre esto?
8. ¿Cómo reaccionan los otras niños?

RELACIÓN ENTRE LOS PADRES MIGRANTES Y LA ESCUELA

1. ¿Qué relación hay entre los padres y la escuela? ¿Existe comunicación individual entre padres y maestros? ¿Se asocian en comités o grupos para hablar con los maestros? ¿Tratan de resolver problemas o investigar la situación escolar de sus hijos?
2. ¿Con qué frecuencia se reúnen?
3. ¿Qué asuntos se discuten durante éstas reuniones?
4. ¿Cuál es el propósito de las reuniones?
5. ¿Durante las reuniones discuten los padres sus peticiones, problemas o recomendaciones?
6. ¿Es cierto que la migración afecta las relaciones entre los padres y la escuela? En caso afirmativo ¿De qué manera?
7. ¿Hay un líder en el pueblo? ¿Qué influencia tiene en las familias migrantes?

Appendix 2

GUIDED FAMILY INTERVIEWS

A. DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Name
2. Address
3. Phone
4. Years of education --Mother Father
5. Names of Children
6. Ages
7. Where Born

B. HOME TOWN

1. About how many people live in home town?
2. About how many people migrate?
3. Can you tell me how/why you started to migrate? (history) How long have you been migrating?
4. How long will you continue to migrate?
5. Will your children continue to migrate?
6. Do you ever imagine any other kind of lifestyle for them? (Can you describe it to me?)
7. Can you describe any benefits to migration? (personal/family)
8. Can you describe any problems to migration? (personal/family)
9. As an IM you earn more money than your friends or relatives who stay behind--how does this affect you when you return home?
10. How does your social status, at home, compare with people who don't migrate? (be specific)
11. Have you ever considered staying home? Why or why not?
12. If you have stayed home, what was (were) the reason(s)?
13. In October, as you get ready to leave the U.S., what kinds of things are you anticipating? What does the time in Mexico mean to you? What activities do you do when you return? (social, work, personal)

14. Thinking back on the time we visited you in January, can you describe a "typical" day to me?
15. In Mexico, do migrants have to pay more for public services? (i.e., higher school fees, etc?)
16. Have you participated in the Committees there?
17. How do you think this lifestyle has affected your children?
18. What do you think going back to Mexico means to them?
- 18A What would you think if your children married and stayed in the U.S.?

French Camp

- 19 Can you describe a "typical" day in the U.S.?
20. What do you like best about the U.S.? Why?
21. What do you like least about the U.S.? Why?
22. How does living in French Camp compare with living in Villa Mendoza/Acuit?
23. When the camp closes in October, if work isn't finished, where do you go?
24. If the camp were open all year, would you consider staying in the U.S.? Why-why not?
25. What do you pay for rent? What does that include?

School

1. Have you met your child's teacher?
2. How many times have you been to the elementary school? For what reason?
3. What do you think the role of the parent is in relation to school?
4. How often do your children miss school--in U.S.? in Mexico?
5. Do the report cards from French Camp mean anything to you? Can you understand them? Why-why not?
6. Very often teachers write comments recommending that the student practice reading English or needs extra help in math--how do you respond?
7. How is your child doing in school? What is she/he good at? What does she/he need to work harder on?

8. What do you think are the qualities of a good teacher?

Bosquejos

La Familia Morales

Son las 2:30 a.m. se inicia un arduo día más para la familia Morales, y aunque en México tienen más tiempo para descansar y soñar, los miembros de esta familia realizan sus tareas con gusto y empeño aquí en French Camp, tratando de no darle importancia al cansancio y desvelos que sufren. La señora Rosa es la encargada de preparar desayuno y lonche para los que trabajan y estudian. El primero en salir es su esposo, el señor Luis quien tiene que recorrer dos horas de camino hasta el lugar donde trabaja y en otros años fué acompañado por su esposa, cosa que no es posible este año porque está embarazada. Cuando el señor se va la sra. descansa hasta las 6:00 a.m. hora en la que prepara a sus hijas para ir a la escuela y a Lupita, la menor, para la guardería. Cada quien tiene sus propias obligaciones: El señor trabaja en el campo, las niñas estudian y una de ellas, cuando tiene oportunidad, también trabaja en la guardería. Al regresar alrededor de las 2:00 p.m. comen y descansan mientras relatan sus propias experiencias del día, para continuar el siguiente de la misma manera. Seguro que extrañan su vida en Villa Mendoza, en donde iniciaban sus días a las 6:00 a.m. después de haber descansado sin preocupaciones por el trabajo del día siguiente. En su pueblo, el señor Juan acostumbra ayudar con el trabajo a un vecino de edad quien posee algunas reses y un lote de tierra para sembrar. Las dos hijas mayores no pueden asistir a la escuela en Villa Mendoza por lo que permanecen en casa ayudando a su mamá en la limpieza. Por las tardes hacen costuras, tejen o hacen sus tareas escolares. No parece muy diferente pero es seguro que ellos sienten un gran cambio en su estilo de vida a ser migrantes.

Para saber cuando y porqué esta familia empezó a migrar, tenemos que remontarnos hacia 1970 año en que la señora Lupe (entonces soltera) arregló su permiso para migrar legalmente a los Estados Unidos actividad que continuó haciendo al casarse y se facilitó más aún cuando su esposo consiguió su migración legal en 1972. Las razones por las que la familia Morales empezó a migrar, al principio fueron solamente económicas, pero conforme pasó el tiempo se agregó a estas, el interés por que sus hijas aprendieran el idioma inglés y convivieran con niños de sus edad en ese U.S.A. que a todos gusta e impresiona. Esta familia nos dijo que migran por no encontrar trabajo en Villa Mendoza y siguen las costumbres de sus padres con quienes migraban desde jóvenes. El hecho de viajar y trabajar en las U.S.A., les ayuda a resolver sus problemas económicos y a no vivir tan preocupados si al volver a

México no encuentran trabajo en los seis meses que pasan allá. Al platicar con esta familia nos dimos cuenta que el migrar para ellos ya es como una costumbre y las hijas mayores (las de 15 y 13 años) con cierta inseguridad nos afirmaron que continuaran migrando mientras les sea posible. Así mismo el señor Morales nos dijo que aunque en Villa Mendoza hubiera trabajo, toda su familia continuaría migrando simplemente por el hecho de que el gobierno americano los ayuda en muchos sentidos y en México no gozan de estas oportunidades y por supuesto, si French Camp permaneciera abierto todo el año ellos continuarían trabajando aquí. El dinero que ganan, además de quitarles preocupaciones económicas, les permite gozar de ciertas comodidades en su casa de Villa Mendoza. Aquí en French Camp la familia Morales parece vivir feliz en una pequeña pero cómoda casa que el campo les ha proporcionado a cambio de una módica renta, además de brindarles los servicios gratuitos de guardería, camión escolar y seguridad social. Las niñas que gustan del ambiente del campo, el disfrutar de jardines y cambiar un poco de estilo de vida. También la señora es feliz en el campo que le proporciona ciertas comodidades como lo es el servicio de lavandería con el que cuenta. Ésta su casa, cuenta con tres recamaras, salacomedor, cocina integral y un baño completo. Así, mientras el señor Juan lee «Historias de los Santos» en su recamara, sus hijas pueden ver televisión en la sala y su esposa puede preparar la cena en un día de descanso. Cada uno sin ser perturbado. Si llega alguien de visita, al abrir la puerta puede observar el diploma que María obtuvo por ser la mejor alumna del mes en su grupo y el orgullo que brota cuando lo muestra a su visitante. Y hablando de escuela, es bueno hacer notar que estas mujercitas son muy estimadas y bien aceptadas por sus maestros quienes siempre se sienten orgullosos de tenerlas como las mejores alumnas de la clase, debido a su excelente trabajo y comportamiento durante todas sus actividades. Las tres jovencitas dicen que les gusta estudiar y convivir con los niños americanos, aprovechando este rose para practicar el inglés que tanto les gusta. A pesar de que les agrada el ambiente escolar, las jovencitas no piensan mucho en la posibilidad de continuar estudiando y esto es quizás lo más penoso al escucharlas hablar, pues ellas poseen la inteligencia y capacidad necesaria para continuar estudiando; pero pensando un poco en él, porque esta situación tal vez vemos que algunos de estos factores pueden influir para que ellas piensen así como son: a) Su situación económica, que seguramente continuará por siempre y ésto las mantendrá migrando. b) Los problemas que dos de ellas tienen por ser americanas, pues en México les han negado su certificado de Primaria y sin él no pueden continuar con sus estudios. c) La vieja idea de las familias Mexicanas que dice que las mujeres pertenecen a la casa y no deben estudiar o trabajar alejados del hogar. d) Los señores Morales estudiaron escasamente dos o tres años de la primaria, por lo

tanto las hijas no tienen un «patrón» a seguir cuanto a educación se refiere. e) Y en consecuencia de la pobre educación de los padres, ellos no sienten que educarse sea muy importante y por lo tanto no presionan a sus hijas a continuar sus estudios.

Aunque parezca contradictorio, los padres se interesan porque sus hijas asistan a la escuela y se sienten orgullosos de tener hijas tan aplicadas, pero al mismo tiempo no quieren obligarlas a estudiar y dejar que ellas decidan lo que quieren hacer.

Hablando un poco acerca del ambiente social en el que viven, es bueno decir que tanto en French Camp, como Villa Mendoza, la familia Morales es muy bien aceptada y no sufre de las críticas envidiosas de gente que no comprende del todo la situación de los migrantes. Esta familia es también muy unida y seguramente esta unidad los ayudará a salir adelante resolviendo los problemas que enfrentarán sus niñas y mujercitas muy pronto.

La Familia Guzmán

La carita sonriente de Alicia, la más pequeña de las hijas de la familia Guzmán, que nos saludaba a través de la ventana, fué lo primero que vimos al llegar a visitar en su casa de French Camp a los señores Jesús y Rosa Guzmán. Aunque su casa aquí en French Camp no es tan grande y amplia como en Villa Mendoza, su pueblo de origen, viven agusto en ella pues cuenta con lo necesario, nos dice la Sra Rosa, como lo son: cocina integral, sala comedor, sistema de aire acondicionado, televisión, tres recamaras y un baño completo. En el jardín también nos alcanzó a saludar Juan, el hijo mayor de la familia, quien se mostró algo pensoso por su aspecto desaliñado que consiguió trabajando en el campo como sus padres. Fué la señora Rosa quien nos recibió amablemente e invitó a pasar a su casa. Sonia, su hija mayor también salió de su cuarto a recibir-nos y con pena intentaba intervenir en la conversación. Ambas empezaron a relatarnos el pesado día de trabajo que comenzaron a las 4:30 a.m. y nos sorprendió mucho el saber que Sonia y Juan, empezaron a trabajar en el campo desde hacia dos semanas y según nos dijo la Sra. ¡Rosa es que están probando qué prefieren más: estudiar o trabajar! En estos momentos entra el señor Guzmán a la sala algo aturdido pues interrumpimos su descanso. Después de saludarnos se incorpora a la conversación y nos afirma que Juan y Sonia ya están cansados de madrugar y trabajar y que él piensa que al volver a la escuela darán todo de sí y serán mejores alumnos. Sonia parece estar de acuerdo con sus padres. Aprovechan el tema para empezarnos a hablar de algunas desventajas que en el trabajo se han venido presentando. Como lo son el aumento de migrantes que provoca la escasez de trabajo y la disminución en el salario que actualmente, nos darán, es de 60 centavos cada bote de pepinos que colectan, alcanzando a llenar 60 botes en un buen día de

trabajo. También los avances tecnológicos provocan desempleo nos dice el señor Jesús. A pesar de que aquí en French Camp sufren desvelos y cansancios, los Guzmán aseguran que si hubiera trabajo todo el año, se quedarían en French Camp y en el futuro seguirían a sus hijos al lugar que ellos escojan para tabajar o estudiar. Con respecto a los estudios, Sonia nos dice que a ella le gustaría estudiar cultura de belleza al terminar su educación secundaria, nos comenta que a su hermano Juan le agrada dibujar y lo hace muy bien y que a Roberto le encantan las matemáticas a las que pone tiempo, dedicación y empeño. Nos comentaron que hace algunos años tuvieron problemas con uno de los maestros de la escuela French Camp, quien fué a su casa solo a insultarlos y decirles que sus hijos son muy mal educados en la escuela. Esto sorprendió mucho a los padres quienes no tuvieron más que defenderse contestando a toda agresión e insulto que recibieron. Al igual que los padres, nosotros también nos sorprendimos al saber esto y nos confundió pues la familia en general muestra un comportamiento pacífico y hasta cierto punto serio. Acerca de la educación, los señores Guzmán nos comentan que para los niños es una desventaja el viajar y recibir educación de dos sistemas diferentes, y nos dicen que la educación de los niños es hasta cierto punto mala y muy lenta; situación que seguramente continuará ya que los hijos continuarán migrando mientras les sea posible.

Todos disfrutan su estancia aquí en French Camp. La señora Rosa está feliz de contar con una cómoda casa a cambio de poca renta, así como de tener servicios de lavandería, seguridad social, autobús escolar para los niños y los jardines alrededor. Los niños también gustan de su vida aquí pues pueden ir a la escuela, o escoger, como ahora ir a trabajar. Además tienen oportunidad de conocer los alrededores y divertirse con sus amistades, cosa que en Villa Mendoza no pueden hacer. A pesar de que pasan un buen tiempo aquí, toda la familia piensa que no podrían vivir en los Estados Unidos por mucho tiempo pues sienten la necesidad de volver y convivir con sus familiares y amistades de Villa Mendoza, en donde nos comenta la Sra. Rosa, «nuestros días inician a las 6:30 a.m., mi esposo se va al campo por las mañanas y a veces también por las tardes. Yo me quedo en casa atendiendo nuestra tienda, y en ocasiones Sonia y Juan me ayudan al regresar de la escuela.» ¡Ah! porque en México, Juan estudia en la Telesecundaria que hay en Acuitzeramo. Esta telesecundaria es reciente por lo que está muy bien acondicionado, pero aun así trata de cumplir con su propósito, que es enseñar. Sonia no estudia en México porque le fué negado su certificado de primaria ya que es americana y esto le ha impedido continuar sus estudios en México, a pesar de esto no pierde la esperanza de estudiar un poco en el futuro. Otro de los problemas a los que se enfrentan los migrantes en Villa Mendoza es que tienen que pagar cantidades extras

por los servicios y obras públicas, así como en las cuotas escolares, además de esto, sufren fuertes críticas y envidios de los vecinos que no migran pues los migrantes gozan de tener una casa mas arreglada, con algunos aparatos electrónicos, automóvil y la tranquilidad de tener asegurado parte de su futuro económico y hay gente que todavía no acepta esta situación. Y los Guzmán, como muchas otras familias migrantes, tienen su historia. Precisamente el padre del Señor Jesús, inició sus viajes a Estados Unidos como brasero en 1946 y no fué sino hasta 1960 cuando arreglo legalmente inmigración. Esta actividad la heredó a su hijo Federico quien desde joven empezó a migrar consiguiendo un empleo en Los Angeles durante 8 años. Dos de estos años estuvo soltero y los otros 6 fueron sus primeros de matrimonio por lo que se trajo también a su esposa para U.S.A. y ya como una familia, han migrado desde 1971.

Mientras nos despedíamos al abandonar la casa, descubrimos a Juan sentado cabizbajo en el jardín, quién no se atrevió a entrar y conversar con nosotros, seguramente porque sintió que su aspecto «de todo un trabajador en el campo» no era el adecuado para estar presente platicando con visitantes. . .

La Familia González

Trabajo, trabajo y más trabajo. Y pensar que no me gustaba. Ahora recuerdo cuando en México triste esperaba el regreso de mi esposo. Anhelaba arreglar mis papeles para irme a Estados Unidos a trabajar con él para ayudarle y tal vez mejorar un poco más nuestra situación económica. Cuando por fin los arreglé ya no me daban ganas de trabajar pero ahora, creo que me gusta, sí, sí, me gusta mucho, aunque es duro lo disfruto.

El trabajo empieza cuando el despertador suena a las 4:26 a.m. Ya levantada preparo el desayuno y el lonche para mi esposo y nos vamos los 2 al trabajo. Desde hace unos días vamos a cortar pepino. Los niños, pobres, solitos tienen que arreglarse para ir a la escuela, pero no hay de otra. Nuestro regreso es a medio día y no pensamos más que en comer y descansar, pero no todo el tiempo es para esto pues la casa está desarreglada, la ropa está sucia y la comida no está hecha, así es que hay que darse tiempo para hacer todo. A veces tenemos que ir a la tienda a comprar las cosas para la comida y la casa. Estas son unas de las pocas oportunidades de salir a conocer Stockton, lo malo es que a esta hora estamos cansados para divertirnos. Bueno, no siento mucho ésta situación porque en Villa Mendoza tampoco vamos mucho a pasear o a fiestas. ¿Nuestras actividades son parecidas; nos levantamos a las 7:30 AM, que diferencia, verdad?, luego arreglo a los niños para la escuela y me quedo solita arreglando la casa, que pues, como ustedes saben, es más grande que ésta del campo. Cuando hace falta comida o cuando hay que ir al pueblo a algún mandado el carro nos sirve mucho y

casi siempre mi esposo es el que va a traer lo que hace falta. Yo creo que todos los que migramos podemos tener más y mejor comida que los que no migran. Esta casa también me gusta. La renta no es cara y aquí tenemos todo lo que necesitamos, además del aire acondicionado y la televisión para los niños. Otra cosa que también divierte a los niños es que aquí su papá los pasea mucho en carro pues a cualquier lugar que salimos es en automóvil.

Con respecto a la educación de los niños les diré que los míos no aprenden bien sus materias, no aprobaron este año, y yo pienso que es porque están poco tiempo en México y poco tiempo en U.S.A., y no pueden aprovechar bien, aunque asistan regularmente a sus clases. Aquí en casa, mi esposo es el que se encarga de revisarles las boletas de calificaciones y leer los comentarios de los maestros, pues a mí casi no me gusta encargarme de eso. Nunca he ido a la escuela de los niños aquí en French Camp por lo que no conozco a los maestros y no puedo ir solo cuando me llamen ellos por algún motivo, aunque me gustaría que ellos vinieran a visitarme aquí a mi casa. Allá en Villa Mendoza nos cobran cuotas más elevadas por cualquier servicio público o escolar solo por el hecho de ser migrantes.

Yo creo que toda la familia seguiremos migrando mientras podamos pues nos gusta el trabajo aunque es duro y hasta cierto punto mal pagado.

Farmworkers' children head for prominent universities

Appendix 4

By Richard Colvin
The Tribune

ALISAL HIGH SCHOOL, A SPRAWLING California-style school on the edge of the East Salinas barrio, sits across from lettuce fields that seem to stretch all the way to the brown Gabilan Mountains.

Ninety-three percent of its 1,350 students are Hispanic, and 40 percent of them come and go as their families follow the crops ripening up and down California. Even with three and four members working in the fields, their annual family incomes often total less than \$12,000.

But because of an extraordinarily talented graduating class, a successful college recruiting program and a passionately committed teacher, Alisal this year performed like a suburban school catering to the upper-middle class.

Alisal is far away, psychologically and culturally as well as geographically, from Bard College at Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y., an elite liberal arts college that is 89 percent Anglo. Or from Princeton University, Harvard University, Stanford or the University of California at Berkeley.

But this fall 84 Alisal students, almost all from large, close-knit farm worker families, are leaving the lush fields of strawberries, chilies, tomatoes and other crops for more fruitful academic vistas; another 60 will be going to local community colleges.

By comparison, in 1985 only 11 students out of the 225-member Alisal graduating class went on to four-year colleges.

"I don't expect to see any fields at Bard," said Manuel Lopez, who will be studying languages there on a full scholarship.

Lopez, who missed several years of elementary school to pick the fruit of the rich vegetable basket made notorious by John Steinbeck, said: "I'm not going to be seeing any brown faces. I think it will bother me at first. But I'm going to try not to let it get in my way. I'm there for me."

Called by one former student "a factory for making farmworkers," Alisal is now being referred to in local newspaper editorials as "Alisal Prep" and compared favorably to the exclusive, expensive Robert Louis Stevenson Academy in nearby Pebble Beach.

"I go to a high school that is 93 percent Hispanic and I'll go to a college that is 93 percent white," said Ruben Magana, headed for the 800-student Wabash College in Indiana. The choice of such a school was deliberate, he said.

"I wanted people to see Hispanics could not only get an education here in California but could break away from close families and make it," said

Magana, an articulate speaker whose hero is farm worker organizer Cesar Chavez.

The students still face huge challenges: For most, English is a second language, spoken only at school; they must overcome their feelings of guilt at leaving behind large families that could use their earnings; and the academic standards of elite colleges are sure to be higher than those at Alisal.

But to a one the students say that, for pride's sake, they will work as hard as necessary to make it. It was sweetly ironic that it turned out that way.

One of three high schools in the Salinas Union High School District, Alisal is the smallest, the poorest and, by many accounts, the most neglected. In addition, because of a stabbing death a decade ago it has a reputation as a mean place to go to school, a reputation which its students say is undeserved.

North Salinas High, built in 1965, the same year as Alisal, is surrounded by landscaped condominiums, some county offices and relatively expensive three-bedroom homes. Salinas High is in the center of the city. It is the oldest and most crowded of the three schools.

About 60 percent of Salinas High's 1,900 students are Anglo. North Salinas has nearly as many students, and half are Anglo. Because they have far more students, the other schools have been able to offer a wider variety of courses, serving more students' interests, than Alisal.

The school district's most recent effort to reduce segregation has been to shift several hundred Hispanic students from Alisal to Salinas High, making Alisal even smaller and Salinas even more crowded. "The board of education has resisted the busing of white students," said Salinas Superintendent Lawrence LeKander.

Alisal Principal Gary Horsley said he was worried about the economic segregation of the school's students as well as the ethnic segregation. "It's crazy out in that world," he said. "It's a white world and they're not used to that."

Alisal was not always segregated. At one time, it was the east side where new homes, desired by young families, were being built. But, over the years, the school district's attendance rules and the construction of cheap, shabby apartment buildings nearby have ensured that farmworkers' children would compose almost all of Alisal's students.

LeKander said he has helped convince the city council and the Monterey County Board of Supervisors to limit the construction of cheap, multi-

unit housing. "Segregation is decreasing and we're addressing it in the most practical and feasible ways," he said.

But many parents are not satisfied.

"Too many people won't just step out and say, let's solve this problem as a community," said David Angulo, whose stepson, Raul Laborin, will attend Stanford. "If you have kids like these who are excelling, they excel more with others who are at the same level."

Alisal students said they felt the educational and psychological effects of segregation.

"Everyone expects us not to be as smart," said Corinne Lopez, who will be going to Cornell University to study industrial relations. "They all went easy on us. Say a paper was due April 15, they would give us an extension and then another extension. You knew you really didn't have to do it."

'I had my doubts, but Mr. Shirley was there all the time. Mr. Shirley said, "You can do it. You can do it." He told us, "There's another world out there. We can't stay in Salinas all our lives."'

—Manuel Lopez

Humberto Serrano, 19, was one of the few Alisal students from the class of 1985 to go to a selective college. The education he received at Alisal, he said, did not prepare him for Columbia University.

"I was No. 2 in my class and I didn't know the basics in grammar," he said.

Serrano, who picked strawberries this summer, is studying history and economics and wants to become a corporate lawyer.

Many of the Alisal students heading off to college this year say they began thinking about higher education in junior high school, when outreach counselors from the University of California at Santa Cruz first began working with the district.

After they were recommended by their teachers, the Early Outreach Partnership Program brought them and their families to the campus for a week of classes in writing, leadership, conflict resolution and research methods. They were told what courses they needed to get into the University of California and counselors continued to visit them during the school year, to be sure they were on track.

The students say the spark lit within them by the UC program spread, and they promoted an atmosphere of competition, of striving, that grew mysteriously from student to student. The competition caused students like Laborin, the football team's quarterback who is headed to Stanford, to study often into the early morning hours.

"The people in the class of '86 always had it in their minds that they would go to college and that created some competition, which raised the level of our classes," said Laborin.

But many also felt growing doubt that their dreams of college could come true. They were receiving an inferior education and they knew it. They lived in poverty in the barrio and they knew it. They wanted to make something out of themselves and they knew it would be difficult.

'They're ready to have us disappear. They liked being this little anonymous place. It's not like people have been begging to get into Alisal.'

— Pamela Bernhard

Then, a *mitzvah*, George P. Shirley, walked in the door of Alisal High School in September of 1984.

Balding, overweight, unkempt, Shirley is a hellraiser extraordinaire. He is an *agent provocateur* for such causes as the rights of farmworkers to work standing up instead of bending over with a short hoe, the rights of students to learn in a language they understand, the rights of the poor to a roof over their heads that doesn't leak and to more than a dirt floor under their feet.

Shirley, 46, was also the passionate, tireless, unconventional government teacher who opened the students' eyes to the possibilities of farflung schools, to the notion of the Ivy League, and pushed them day and night to seek admission.

In the process, Shirley sowed the seeds of his own demise. A temporary teacher, this year Shirley will not be returning to Alisal. A one-sentence letter from the district told him his services would not be needed.

Shirley is a former legal services attorney in Florida, Minnesota and California, former lobby-

ist in Sacramento and Washington, D.C., former state Supreme Court clerk in Colorado and now, former government teacher.

He acknowledges that he did little to help his case. "I have a temper," he said. "I get angry. I don't tolerate fools gladly. I pay no attention to rules."

It is understandable that Horaley, the Alisal principal, would not be a Shirley fan, even though he wrote him a glowing three-page evaluation that praised Shirley's teaching talents.

Part of the way Shirley convinced colleges to

I know I'm Mexican and poor and I'm going to an almost all-Anglo school but I look at it this way: I'll be able to see life in two different ways — my way and their way.'

—Juan Pantoja

accept the students, despite low test scores, was to argue that they were largely unschooled, still raw resources that a college education could polish into intellectual jewels.

In addition, Shirley rallied his students to use every forum possible — a school board candidate's debate, the visit of Congressman Leon Panetta, school board meetings — to protest the school's segregation.

Shirley said he had three goals last year: to get as many students as possible into the best schools possible; to change the image the community had of Alisal as a gang-dominated, violent holding pen instead of a place of learning, and most importantly, to "create an environment where I could pressure the bastards to desegregate."

Pamela Bernhard, the senior class counselor who worked closely with Shirley and eventually became romantically involved with him, said their work made the school's administrators uncomfortable.

"They're ready to have us disappear," said Bernhard, who applied for jobs elsewhere after 16 years in the district. "They liked being this little anonymous place. It's not like people have been begging to get into Alisal."

School officials indicated their displeasure with Bernhard as well. At the first faculty meeting of the year late last month, she was told that she would no longer have any responsibility for counseling seniors.

Recognizing that the Class of 1986 was unusually talented, Shirley last September handed out battered copies of Lovejoy's college guide and assigned every student in his government classes the task of writing for applications to 10 colleges, including two University of California campuses and a California State University.

Then, late at night, at noon, during basketball games, before school, Shirley and Bernhard helped students rewrite their essays, to portray the difficulties of their lives. They wrote about being pulled out of class to pick plums or strawberries, about studying under a bare light bulb in the family kitchen late at night, about what it would have been like for them had they stayed in Mexico.

"Life is simple for women in the Mexican province where I am from," wrote Elida Marquez, who will be attending Williams College in Williamstown, Mass. "They are taught to cook, clean and take care of children at an early age, mainly so they can help their mother."

"I want to attend the university because I want to make a difference in the world, especially with women and minorities," continued Marquez, a co-valedictorian at the school. She wrote that her sister died when she was 4 years old and now Marquez wants to be a doctor to help the sick.

Shirley and Bernhard directed some students to specific colleges, wrote letters of recommendation, lobbied admission directors by telephone and wooed local recruiters in person.

Horaley, who is credited by others with increasing the number of community programs that operate at the school, bristles at the idea that Shirley is largely responsible for the high percentage of college-bound students.

"There are people who have worked so hard

who are getting upstaged," Horaley said.

He also believes that, even without Shirley, a high percentage of Alisal students will continue going to college. Although Shirley "has some very unique qualities" and a "broader range of experience" than many other teachers, his absence will not have a major impact, he said.

Manuel Lopez, the Bard student, may not believe that. All summer long Shirley was on the telephone with college officials, working out a misunderstanding with Lopez' financial aid package. He supported his choice to go to college, even though his father, Manuel Sr., the only adult wage earner in the family, was opposed.

As a result, Lopez last month left behind in the two-bedroom house at the end of a dusty road five brothers and sisters, his father, his mother and a life as a farmworker.

"I had my doubts, but Mr. Shirley was there all the time," he said. "Mr. Shirley said, 'You can do it. You can do it.' He told us, 'There's another world out there. We can't stay in Salinas all our lives.'"

For Lopez as well as for most of the others, Shirley and senior counselor Bernhard wrote letters explaining the low SAT scores, which averaged about 800 out of a possible 1,600. They explained that Spanish is spoken in the homes of most of the students and, because of the racial and economic segregation, the students are not familiar with the sophisticated SAT vocabulary.

After students had been accepted the work continued. There were financial aid forms to be filled out, tax information to be gathered, housing forms, loan applications and more, all of which Shirley and Bernhard helped complete. They also had to help some of the students dodge the Immigration and Naturalization Service, because many of them are in the country illegally.

They became social workers, in effect, directing confused parents and overwhelmed students to the services and resources they needed.

Largely as a result, Leticia Magos and Bernadette Rojas will be attending the University of California at Berkeley, two of 10 who were accepted. Carmen Zarate will leave her nearly blind mother alone to attend Harvard University. David

'You look at the school profile and it scares you to death. You look at before Shirley got there and it's like night and day. You look at kids who are tops in their class and no one has gone to college anywhere of significance.'

— Phil Smith

Jimenez, who worked during the summer in a tomato packing plant, will be going to Macalester College in St. Paul, Minn. to study computer science. The list goes on and on.

"My family was sad to see me go but they knew it was for my benefit," said Leticia Magos, two weeks after arriving at Berkeley. "The real difficult part is that there are so many students in Berkeley."

"I always thought about going to college because I thought I could do it," said Jimenez. "But I always thought about it as financially hard, because everyone thinks it is too expensive." With financial aid packages most of the students will be paying less to go to expensive out-of-state colleges than they would to state universities.

"For some students he made a difference because they were not even thinking about going to school," said Magana, one of two students heading to Wabash College. "Him just pushing them made a difference."

School officials will not talk about why Shirley won't be back this fall. They say it is a "personnel matter."

But Shirley's case is much more than that of an individual who doesn't get along with authorities. Indeed, four major studies this year have concluded that public schools are overly bureaucratic and frustrate creativity.

Schools, which ideally teach students to be independent-minded, reward a slavish devotion to orthodoxy. As institutions, Shirley says, schools function well at a certain methodical pace. When asked to accelerate, to work overtime, round-the-clock, weekends, summers to serve students with special needs, schools are like an automobile whose engine is running too fast.

Shirley, and the cohorts he convinced to jump on his bandwagon, drove the school too fast. And the authorities slammed on the brakes.

"They said we have to start little by little," said Humberto Serrano, who called the Salinas board of education racists after they refused to rehire Shirley. "I said, 'No we don't have to do that. We can go to good colleges right away.'"

"It doesn't make sense," said Juan Pantoja, a tall, shy young man who will go to Princeton University this fall. "How can a teacher who gets so many kids who would be working at McDonald's going off to different colleges be fired?"

The efforts of Shirley and Bernhard, and teachers such as football coach and junior English teacher Pat Egan, who began drilling students on SAT vocabulary, turned Alisal upside down. Looked at as part of the larger picture of how California schools serve Hispanic students, however, the success is even more impressive.

According to the latest data of the California Postsecondary Education Commission, fewer than 5 percent of Hispanic graduates in the class of 1983 were eligible for the University of California and only 1.6 percent enrolled. Only 10 percent were eligible for the California State University system and 2.9 percent enrolled.

Better than a third of the Hispanic students in the state drop out of high school before they graduate. And at Alisal, that figure is nearly 60 percent, with 375 of the approximately 600 ninth graders dropping out before graduating.

"There had been absolutely no direction at our school, or any public school, in terms of where students go to college," Shirley said. "There are so many colleges out there — good, quality, top schools — that want to do some of this. They want these kids."

But, he said, a counselor who works with 550 students cannot possibly counsel individual students in depth. Teachers cannot do it alone either. What is needed, he said, is logistical support — someone to type letters of recommendation, someone to help students write and rewrite essays, someone to research scholarships.

"You can build the structure in," he said. "It wouldn't take that much."

Phil Smith, director of admissions of the highly selective Williams College in Williamstown, Mass., where four Alisal students will matriculate this fall, said that kind of support is already available at affluent high schools that have traditions of students going to college.

He said a handful of minority schools throughout the country do a good job of motivating students to go to college and helping them get there. But, he said, the success at Alisal is highly unusual.

"You look at the school profile and it scares you to death," Smith said. "You look at before Shirley got there and it's like night and day. You look at kids who are tops in their class and no one has gone to college anywhere of significance."

Smith was convinced, however, after a glowing report came back from a Williams alumnus who agreed to interview the students. "We asked, 'Do these kids have the sense of self-esteem, the toughness quotient?' And the answer came back, 'Yes.'"

As a result, Smith said, college admissions directors all over the country now know of Alisal the same way they know about Lowell in San Francisco or schools in Piedmont, Lafayette or Orinda.

Shirley said he is writing a manual explaining what he did so that future Alisal students can get some benefit out of last year's success. It will include sample essays, application deadlines, instructions for financial aid forms and the like. It will be translated into Spanish and disseminated.

Francie Tidey, a Sacramento college counselor, videotaped interviews with many of the college-bound students. She hopes to use their comments, and Shirley's insights, to encourage minority students throughout the state to work hard and to believe in dreams of going to college.

All of the students acknowledge that they will have to work hard to succeed and that the leap from the segregated barrio of East Salinas to colleges and universities peopled by the privileged will be difficult.

Juan Pantoja said: "I know I'm Mexican and poor and I'm going back to an almost all-Anglo school but I look at it this way: I'll be able to see life in two different ways — my way and their way. When we go back to Mexico to visit, I see kids my age, barefoot, working like slaves and I'm here, thinking that that could have been me. And I'm going to Princeton. Can you imagine?"

Despite their determination, Shirley knows the odds are high that some of the students will drop out.

"Some of them are going to fail," he said. "But all I've wanted for them to have all along is to have the option."